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Vol 1-18



From the Author,
for the University -
Library —

AN ESSAY
ON
JUNIUS AND HIS LETTERS;

EMBRACING

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF
WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM,
AND MEMOIRS OF CERTAIN OTHER DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUALS;

WITH

REFLECTIONS HISTORICAL, PERSONAL, AND POLITICAL,
RELATING TO THE AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA,
FROM 1763 to 1783.

● BY BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE, M. D.,
MEMBER OF SEVERAL MEDICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND LITERARY SOCIETIES
IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

As to the Book itself, it can say this in its behalf, that it does not merely confine itself
to what its title promises, but expatiates freely into whatever is collateral.

Harrie's Hermes.

BOSTON:
GRAY AND BOWEN.
1831.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT.

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Be it remembered, that on the seventh day of March, A. D. 1831, in the fifty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Gray & Bowen, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, *to wit*—

"An Essay on Junius and his Letters; embracing a Sketch of the Life and Character of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and Memoirs of certain other Distinguished Individuals; with Reflections Historical, Personal, and Political, relating to the Affairs of Great Britain and America, from 1763 to 1785. By Benjamin Waterhouse, M. D., Member of several Medical, Philosophical, and Literary Societies in Europe and America. 'As to the Book itself, it can say this in its behalf, that it does not merely confine itself to what its title promises, but expatiates freely into whatever is collateral.' *Harris's Hermes.*"

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned"; and also to an act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGE:

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PREFACE.

WE make books in America as we made our men-of-war,—one man contrived and executed, what employed several in the ship-yards of Europe. If our ships be as good as the French and English, we do as well as they with less means. The time has been when one man procured the timber from our forests, planned and superintended the building of the ship even to its rigging, obtained and placed on board the warlike equipments and stores, collected the crew, and then commanded the very ship he had created, and came off conqueror,—necessity thus generating ambidexterity. So with our literary productions, we have less aid, and fewer helps, than they in the capital cities of the old world, where libraries and learned men abound, with oral information on every side. If we in these ends of the earth labor under these disadvantages, our work should be judged of accordingly. We have no guide but Truth, nor other ambition than to be thought to follow her.

We have taken hold of a gnarled question. Should we, like others, fail to maintain our long conceived hypothesis of the *authorship* of JUNIUS, we trust that our book will be found, nevertheless, to contain political and moral principles, and a spirit of rational liberty, worthy an American.

This essay is a new attempt to disentangle the most important and artfully contrived secret of modern times, the development of which will open curious matter for speculation. It has already exercised the wits of the first men of the age ; until conjecture has been wearied and fallen asleep.

The British reader may well ask—Who and what are you, who thus undertake to solve the greatest secret in our history ?—you, born and dwelling in a far distant region of the globe, which was unknown to the world four hundred years ago, and where, little more than two hundred years since, an English word had never been uttered. Is it likely that a native of the new-found quarter of the globe should untie a knot after all *our* efforts have failed ; and unravel a snarl, the disentanglement of which we on the spot have given up in despair ? I reply to such in the words of their great light and ornament, their polar-star and ours, *Lord BACON*. “ *Since a man who stands a little removed from a spot of ground, may often survey it better than those who are upon it, 'tis not impossible but that as a spectator, I may have observed some things which the actors themselves have not.*” * Still, however, when a man offers a book of this sort to the attention of a discerning public, they ought to know not only *who* the author is, but *what* he is ; whether he has ever been in the way of correct information respecting private characters, facts, and circumstances, personages and affairs, of which he ventures to speak ; and what portion of his time and thoughts has been given to the subjects he presumes to handle. Books on the healing art have been written in a confident style, with every mark of deep learning, and trait of genius :

* An Attempt to promote the Peace of the Church. Sect. II.

systems have even been built upon them, by able men, who in fact, knew nothing, from their own experience, of the diagnostics of diseases, adjunct or pathognomonic, nor of the natural course of distempers, nor of the operations within us, which, without the aid of art, tend to restore the disordered machine to its pristine regularity,—mere closet medical philosophers. No prudent man would take such a guide to health, or listen with patience to his speculations on life, health, disease, and its curative process.*

These considerations compel me to the disagreeable task of speaking of myself. But irksome as it is, “If these things be necessities, let’s meet them like necessities,” and speak like a man who has lived long enough in the world to have all his vanity evaporate into thin air.

After being under the instruction of an eminent practitioner of physic several years, I embarked in the early part of the year 1775, at my native place, Newport, Rhode-Island, in the last ship that escaped the interdicted port of Boston; and was consigned by my family to DOCTOR FOTHERGILL, in London, for farther improvement. He was a relation on my mother’s side, and was born in the same neighbourhood with her in Yorkshire. After enjoying a cordial reception from the Doctor, he sent me in the autumn of the same year to Edinburgh, where I remained nine months, and then returned to the house of my patron in Harpur-street, London, in which I resided about three years, at the same time attending various lectures, expressly on or connected with my profession, also the hospitals, and occasionally some of Fothergill’s own practice. In the lat-

* e. g. the *Brunonian* system.

ter part of the year 1778, he sent me to *Leyden*, to acquire, as he smilingly said, a little of the Dutch phlegm. To that renowned University I was attached four academical years, making excursions in the four months' vacation of every year to England, France, and elsewhere. When I entered the University, being requested, agreeably to custom, to inscribe my name and country on the records of matriculation, I wrote after it, "*LIBERE REIPUBLICÆ AMERICANÆ FÆDERATÆ CIVIS*"; which ultimately occasioned more talk and captious remark among some there, and at the Hague, than the subject of it was worth,* insomuch that, at my graduation a few years after, I was constrained to add after my name, subscribed to my Inaugural Dissertation, only the word *Americanus*, before I could obtain the *imprimatur* of the University, and this by the friendly advice and request of the *Rector Magnificus* and Professors: for the British Ambassador at the Hague knew all the gossip, through his agents, among the students (few of whom were under twenty-five years of age, and some were forty, and from almost every nation in Europe, while there was but one from America); and this at a time when the American struggle was the great topic of universal conversation, and her cause very popular; and when the British Ambassador at the Court of the Hague † *domineered* the Dutch as if they were English Colonists.

Our illustrious countryman, JOHN ADAMS, who succeeded WASHINGTON in the Presidency, was sent by Congress to Holland as to sister States to court an alliance. He sojourned in that country over a year before he was publicly

* President Adams notices this in his printed Correspondence, p. 572.

† Sir Joseph Yorke. See Correspondence, *ib*.

acknowledged as the American Minister. He resided almost entirely at *Leyden*, only nine miles from the Hague, which cities are not farther apart than the extremes of the city of London. During that time, I made one of his family, living, together with his two sons, in the same house. This may account for my strong bias to politics without any wish of ever becoming an official actor in them, ardent as my attachment was to the holy cause of our struggling country.

My venerable kinsman in London, my *fulcrum* in every thing good, was a conscientious advocate of the American cause, as far as a wise, loyal, and honest Englishman could or ought to be.* He labored day and night with Dr. Franklin and others to prevent hostilities with the colonists; and afterwards, when the battle raged with alternate success, he endeavoured to open the eyes of the King and his Minister; for he had in the course of his profession, and from his rank in life, the facilities to attempt it. Their ignorance of America was astonishing! The people of Britain generally were ignorant whence we sprung; what language we spoke; what religion we professed; and even of what complexion we were. The *Island of Virginia* was spoken of in a Court of Judicature, by a *learned* pleader. In a word, ignorance of this vast region pervaded England, Scotland, and Ireland,—their Universities, their Courts of Law, the Legislature, and, in too general a manner, even the administration of George the Third; otherwise it is impossible to account for

* See his "*Considerations relative to the North American Colonies*," printed in 1765, and "*An English Freeholder's Address to his Countrymen*," printed in 1779, in which his *decided* opinion upon political matters is manifested.

its conduct, unless we may attribute their ignorance to judicial infatuation. Were we to descend to a less general view, we might remark that the monarch, his minister, and advisers, private and ostensible, were more inclined to lend a listening ear to vindictive refugee governors, contractors, and hungry expectants on both sides the Tweed, than to the words of truth and soberness; and this fatal delusion operated the division of one half of the Empire from the other, and formed an epoch in the history of nations.

In Franklin's affection, next after America, was England; with Fothergill, next to his native land was America. He had long studied our country; his father having visited it, and travelled through it twice at distant periods, and his brother once, with no mercantile or worldly views whatever. Fothergill and Franklin were patriotic men. Both of them wished, most ardently wished, for such an union between Great Britain and America, as should be equally just, honorable, and beneficial to both countries; and that great Physician never ceased to the last week of his useful life to urge the *necessity* of **PEACE WITH AMERICA**. Hence the reader sees,—and who can wonder, that Medicine and Politics were mixed together in a young, ardent, and anxious brain, far distant from his suffering country!

After recovery from a slight infection caught from Thomas Paine, which disorder never rose to delirium, I was marvellously struck by the *Letters of JUNIUS*; and my rapture increased at every review of the brilliant and weighty volumes. The high and noble bearing of that writer, seemed akin to that daring spirit which impelled the Americans to declare not only resistance, but defiance, to the gigantic power of Britain,—an inspiration, we believed, like that

which emboldened young *David* to combat and prostrate *Goliath*. Enough, and perhaps more than enough, has been said to show that the healing art did not engross all my thoughts.

My mind was first impressed with the belief that *Lord CHATHAM* was *JUNIUS*, by contemplating the high-wrought and very singular panegyric of that nobleman in the fifty-fourth Letter of the work in question; an impression, which time and reflection have deepened. I now and then committed my thoughts to paper, and looked forward to a more convenient season for enlarging and arranging a premeditated publication, not confined to the valorous Knight in armour of polished steel and closed beaver, but extended to other men without a visor. But that time came not till old age, with its dilatory concomitants, crept insensibly upon me; admonitory to others not to put off a literary task to that late period, when loitering hours are wasted in rumination, rather than spent in acquisition.

I was called in 1783, by the authorities of the state of Massachusetts, and of the University in this place, to commence a second MEDICAL SCHOOL. The only one then existing in America was at *Philadelphia*. My duties in the complicated department of the Theory and Practice of Physic in a great measure shut out politics. I performed those duties during thirty years; seventeen years of that time I was pleasantly employed in rearing the hitherto neglected science of NATURAL HISTORY amongst us. I labored *Mineralogy* and *Botany*. Of the first a word had never been uttered publicly, from teacher to pupil, in this country; of *Botany* almost as little. I therefore selected and broke up the ground, and sowed the seed, and left the easier task of

smoothing it to those who came after me with their nomenclatures and systematical arrangements. The botanical branch grew and flourished like *Naboth's* vineyard, and shared the same fate, from the like cause.* As to *Mineralogy*, being even more simple than Botany, it increased surprisingly in various parts of the Northern, Middle, and Western States, so as greatly to outstrip the knowledge of its first promulgator in this region. His original intention was merely to suggest to his countrymen to be no longer indebted to Europe and other regions for riches which Providence had bountifully laid under their feet. The instruction in these two branches of natural science was a volunteer service without any aid from the University, or the Government.

These things occupied my mind intently, and almost engrossed it, when a sudden and unexpected task seemed, if I may speak so, thrown down before me. When in England, I had never seen *Dr. Jenner*, nor heard his name. In the year 1799, he, through *Dr. Lettsom*, communicated to me the discovery of the prophylactic power of VACCINATION with the means of practising it. The prospect of the vast importance, not only to my country, but to mankind, of this discovery, so filled my mind, that I put every other consideration under my feet, and gave myself up to the cultivation and diffusion of a practice, destined to withdraw another evil from the condition of man. I willingly sacrificed my private business to this great work. For seven years I defended this salutiferous practice, in its disputed march through a host of enemies, till it attained a triumph so com-

* See the *BOTANIST*, in one volume, printed in 1811, dedicated to President Adams.

plete, that throughout the six New England States, it is rare, very rare, indeed, at this time, to meet an American wearing in his face the marks of small pox.

Towards the close of the thirty years of my connexion with the University of Cambridge, the evil times arrived, when those unruly passions rose, from which come wars and fightings, hard words, jealousies, and fears ; in which, let a man say what he would, write what he would, or be silent, he was sure not to please more than one half of the community. The consequence of this state of things constrained me to dissolve my connexion with the University in 1812.

The **PRESIDENT** of the *United States* saw this disagreeable condition of things, and following the example of his predecessor, *Jefferson*, gave me the Medical Superintendency of the nine military posts of the United States in New England, with as much indulgence as his duty to the public would admit. I held this pleasant station from 1813 to 1820 ; and from that period have withdrawn myself from every professional concern, save epistolary consultations and extraordinary cases. From that time and not before, I found leisure to write "*Concerning JUNIUS and his LETTERS*"; and to read all I could find that had been written by others. The result has been the book in your hand. Not that this engrossed my mind entirely. I found time and inclination for making a sketch, too long neglected, of the life and character of the great and early file-leader of our revolution. I also attempted to wipe off some of the aspersions cast upon the greatest man of our age, who died in the full belief that *posterity* would do his character justice. In the estimation of characters, space operates like time.

I was convinced that people looked too low for the author of JUNIUS—among the weeds and shrubbery, instead of the oaks and elms of Old England, or else I magnified the production beyond reason. I compared its style and diction with the prose writings of Milton, with Swift, with the precise Gibbon and Johnson, and with the luxuriant Burke, and thought I discovered something in JUNIUS superior to any of them,—a personal ardor, a feeling, a deep experience, a self-conviction, a patriotic enthusiasm, and a martyr-like devotion in risking discovery, and all sublimed by a fire better regulated than that of Dante or Milton. I could find nothing that amalgamated with the best Letters of JUNIUS but the best Speeches of *Lord CHATHAM*.

Furthermore; to whom can be applied the motto of “STAT” [*magni*] “NOMINIS UMBRA,” omitting through modesty the *magni*, but to the Earl of Chatham?

Among the disadvantages of situation in writing such a book as this, is the liability to err in compellation, from the changeableness of names and titles of members of Parliament of both Houses. Even in relation to this country, now void of titles, British senators, historians, and pamphleteers frequently mistake one man of the same surname for another. A fact of this sort that might be determined in a few minutes in London, has cost weeks of inquiry here, and ended in uncertainty.

Moreover, an apprehension exists, lest in a long course of years, I may have made extracts on small pieces of paper, backs of letters, and the like, and in the lapse of time and wane of memory, have forgotten whether they were my own thoughts or those of others; and this is more likely to have occurred at a recent date, than at a remote one; for reminis-

cence is, I find, more faithful to facts of half a century ago, than to those of the current year. But this error cannot have occurred very often.

As to the curious popular question—Whether the terrific man in the *mask* was the great *Lord CHATHAM*, I have nothing farther to urge here. In stating a connected series of facts, I have laid no traps for the understanding of the reader, but left him to judge for himself—to remark, as he proceeds, how the parts cohere with the subject, and where contraries appear to lie across, threatening the harmony of our hypothesis.

If I have been too often silent in regard to authorities, I would remind the reader that the physician is more in the way of knowing the whole interior of habitations, domestic characters, and sentiments, than any other class of gentlemen whatever.* Dr. Fothergill practised forty years at the court end of London, was Physician to many of the nobility, and most of its old families, and occasionally was consulted by the first rank in the kingdom. His prudence and delicacy were equal to his wisdom; yet it would be difficult for an affable man to conceal entirely his opinion of characters occupying different ranks in authority, from one who prudently sought information. Nearly every night, during three years, I, with my transcript Lectures and common-place book, sat at the same table with that industrious philanthropist, from eight o'clock to eleven, both of us exercising our pens in our own way. Had I possessed any of the *Boswellian* ambition, I had

* See the correspondence of Lord and Lady Chatham with *Dr. Ad-dington*, their family Physician, and Sir James Wright, relative to Lord Bute, p. 367 of this volume.

the best opportunity of compiling a *Fothergilliana*, which might well wear for its motto that on the *Fothergillian Medal*—"FOTHERGILLIUS. MEDICUS. AMICUS. HOMO."

Besides the heads of the noble Houses of *Northumberland* and *Portland*, the Doctor appeared to be most acquainted with the *Marquis of Rockingham*, and *Lords Camden* and *Shelburne*. I never knew that he ever spoke with *LORD CHATHAM* or *NORTH*. He frequently expressed his great pleasure in repeated conversations with *Lord Mansfield*, who was now and then his patient, as was *Lord Chancellor Thurlow*. He, more than once, to my certain knowledge, made written communications to *Lord North* respecting the *real* state of things in America, during the war; and received, after a week or ten days' delay, very respectful answers; but not admitting, to the full, the correctness of all the information, till the conduct of France proclaimed its truth to all the world!

WISDOM can draw, even from such a book as this, lessons moral and political. The reader of it has seen Retribution's reflux wave passing over certain individuals, and a whole nation. He has seen that God's ways are not like man's ways,—that HE makes use of the *smallest* means and causes to operate the *greatest* and most powerful effects. "In His hands, a *pepper-corn* is the foundation of the power, glory, and riches of India. HE makes an *ACORN*, and by it communicates power and riches to a nation." *

CAMBRIDGE, NEW ENGLAND, 1830.

* Bruce on the Source of the Nile.

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ERRATA.

Page vii, line 23, for vats read vast
 " 111, " 20, dele the brackets []
 " 271, " 8, for misloud read mislud

PRELIMINARY VIEW.

MUCH has been said in America, and more in Britain, on this celebrated question,—*Who was the author of those famous Letters which appeared in the early part of the reign of King GEORGE THE THIRD, under the signature of JUNIUS ?*

These Letters were intended, it seems, for the English nation generally, but addressed, most of them, nominally, to certain individuals of the highest rank in it. They were of a character to attract great attention in that country and in this, by their facts, their boldness, and their splendid diction. They first appeared in a London Newspaper, entitled "*The Public Advertiser*," printed by *Henry Sampson Woodfall*, a man well educated, complete in his business, and of discreet, steady, and respectable character in his profession. They came forth about nine years after the accession of a young King, who could, and did boast that he was *a native Englishman*,* and at a critical period, and under circumstances which gave them great interest and effect. By his motto—*Stat nominis umbra*,† the writer stipulates, with the reader,

* The King's first speech to Parliament.

† "*Stat magni nominis umbra*," LUCAN; *He stands the shadow of a mighty name*; or, paraphrastically, *He exhibits a faint image of his former greatness*.

concealment. To understand his design clearly, it may be needful to give the American reader a general view of the affairs and condition of things in the reign preceding; that he may see the cause and effect of that change, which has made the history of George the Third so remarkable in that country and in this; and which forms that link in the chain of our history, which connects the old world with the new. In the course of our discussion, JUNIUS may appear a primary, or a secondary object; for the mere solution of a puzzling question is hardly worth the labor we shall probably bestow upon it.

It appears from the best moral and political writers of the day, that in the latter years of the long protracted reign of George the Second, the English nation, and particularly London, had gradually slid down into an idle, vain, luxurious, and selfish effeminacy; not so much from absolutely bad traits in the character of the King or his Queen, as from a degeneracy of manners and principles, bred and fostered, as some would fain make us believe, by the celebrated prime minister of King George the First and the Second; which has rendered, according to the parties to whom you listen, the name of *Sir Robert Walpole* notorious, or honorably famous.

Who but He who made the human heart, and gave the secret bias of the soul, shall pronounce the character and true motives of Kings? We shall draw upon writers of the first reputation, and speak according to our best judgment, being all along aware of our liability to error.

GEORGE the Second, by birth and education a German, was, it appears, on the whole, a good man, just, honorable, and brave ; but poorly fitted, by nature and education, to be King of Britain, in which Island he was always, in a manner, a stranger. Being past thirty years of age when the Hanover succession took place, his native electorate was nearer his heart than Great Britain, and this natural partiality affected too many of his measures, and often hung a heavy weight on the machinery of his government. He ever aimed at doing right, but was less acquainted with the English constitution, laws, politics, and peculiar character, than with the policy and intrigues of the leading powers on the continent, constituting the science of the balance of power. He said to his favorite, the *Earl of Waldegrave*—“ You are a very extraordinary people, continually talking of your constitution, laws, and liberty ;—you pass near an hundred laws every session, which seem made for no other purpose but to afford the pleasure of breaking them.” The same nobleman says, that “ the King had a good understanding, though not of the first class, and a clear insight into men and things, *within a certain compass*.” The celebrated *Lord Chesterfield*, known, slightly, in this country, by his Letters to his son, tells us, “ that George the First was a dull German *gentleman*, who neither understood nor concerned himself about the interest of England, but was well acquainted with the interest of Hanover ; and that his son, George the Second, was all *that*, leaving out the word *gentleman*.” *

* Chesterfield was Secretary of State to George the Second.

According to Mr. Glover, a member of Parliament, and a distinguished literary character,* "George the Second was a weak, narrow-minded, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawn-broker's shop." Lord Waldegrave, who was bound by the ties of gratitude to that monarch, acknowledges that too great attention to money was his capital failing—that, however, "he was always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous." Mr. Belsham, a very respectable and rational whig writer of a History of Great Britain, says of George the Second, "that equally a stranger to learning and the arts, he saw the rapid increase of both under his reign, without contributing, in the remotest degree, to accelerate that progression by any mode of encouragement, or even bestowing, probably, a single thought on the means of their advancement,—that, inheriting all the political prejudices of his father, he was never able to extend his views beyond the adjustment of the Germanic balance of powers; and with unsuspecting satisfaction in that system, into which he had been early initiated, he never rose even to the conception of that simple, dignified, and impartial conduct, which it is equally the honor and interest of Great Britain to maintain in all the complicated contests of the continental states."

Belsham's, we think, is the most impartial character of the old Hanoverian King of England; yet some doubts hover over my mind, as to the exact likeness

* Author of a popular drama, entitled *Leonidas*.

of the picture. A German military education of a Prince has a direct tendency to make him an unfeeling despot. It greatly injured our favorite, the *Duke of Kent*. The High-German character is at a greater distance from the English than that of the Low-Dutch. It is evident that the second George had wisdom enough to perceive, that his German military education disqualified him from governing properly so peculiar a people as the British really are. He therefore, after several mortifying occurrences and disappointments, allowed his minister, *Sir Robert Walpole*, to hire his officers and his Parliament to be good, as he had not either the power to compel, or the address to manage them himself. To bribe men or children without corrupting them is a very difficult task. Walpole, however, ventured on the experiment; and if it did not succeed entirely to his own and the nation's wish, may we not attribute it to something else than wickedness of heart in the minister? Nevertheless, it was any thing but true wisdom, a mere temporary palliation, as it not only produced a lax and careless government, but contributed to loose and frivolous morals in the great family of England. I say England, for Scotland was still marked by her poverty, characteristic frugality, discretion, and safe morality.

While a host of idle gentlemen were looking up to the King and his Minister for immediate or future favors and rewards, mental energy and individual virtue gradually disappeared. The character of those times (from 1740 to 1756) in England was not so much that of very gross vice, or profligacy, as of in-

dolence, lack of spirit, the love of money, for which they had royal example, and the love of gaming, all with a view to indulging laziness, ridiculous pride, and effeminacy, evinced in the vanity of dress, in parade of equipage, and in the ostentation of title and of fortune.* It was an age of intemperance, frivolity, and self-indulgence, rather than crime. The root of all these enervating evils had been found growing in a rich and rank soil prepared by Sir Robert Walpole; hence he has been called the "father of corruption."

The enemies of this eminent minister, amongst whom may be enumerated the famous *William Pitt*, drove him, at last, from his station, when he took shelter in the House of Peers, under the title of the *Earl of Orford*, with a pension of four thousand pounds a year. This shows the estimation in which he was held by his, if not generous, at least just sovereign; and we can add, that he continued honored and respected during the rest of his life.

That we may form a correct judgment of those times, let us attend a moment to what was said in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, afterward *Earl of CHATHAM*.—"None," said he, "but a nation who had lost all signs of virility, would submit to the treatment you have endured from France and Spain." A few years after, he declared, in the same place, his solemn belief, that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military command-

* See on this subject the Rev. Dr. Brown's "*Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*," six editions of which were published in England, and one in America in the year 1758.

ers, against any vigorous exertions of the national power. He affirmed, that, though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honor and interest of the British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any plan, in which there was the least danger, could with confidence be trusted. He instanced the inactivity of *Lord Loudon*, with his large force in America.* Besides this general inertness in the British military officers, Mr. Pitt said that indolence and neglect pervaded other departments of the service ; that the contractors and purveyors were ignorant of their own business ; that the extent of their knowledge went only to the making of false accounts. He said more to the same effect in the year 1757. This was a condition of things most mortifying to the few great and good men, who at that time adorned Great Britain ; yet it was not very difficult to account for it.

In this sad state of affairs, the English people saw one half of their nobility and gentry waiting for the old king to die, while the other half were gazing with gladsome faces upon the heir apparent, *FREDERIC, Prince of Wales*, and his more energetic spouse, a Princess of Saxo-Gothic origin and education. Two separate courts were kept ; the centres of two opposing parties. The old king was the nucleus of that at St.

* This incompetent military commander disgusted our countrymen, not merely by his haughty demeanor, and contempt of our soldiery, but by his manifest incapacity for his station. See *Dr. Franklin's Memoirs*. The Provincials in authority had feelings towards Lord Loudon, like those of the Dutch towards the Earl of Leicester, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

James's, while his hopeful son received the homage of expectants at Leicester-House. But, to the confusion of an host of aspirants, the Prince of Wales died of a short illness, in the 46th year of his life, leaving his son, *Prince GEORGE*, presumptive heir to the crown. This unlooked for event gave to the two courts a new, and not very agreeable face, with feelings that require a Shakspeare to describe them. The aged monarch had very little affection for his son Frederic, and the prince not too much reverence for his father. The paternal system of bringing up and educating children among the Germans is very different from that of the English, and at a very great distance from that of our own country.

The Leicester-House Court, which had obtained from the opposite party the nickname of "faction," was not better assorted than that at St. James's. It consisted of men of singular and opposite characters. The most conspicuous personage in it was *John Earl of Bute*, who had been made, not without considerable difficulty, and some scandal, *groom of the stole*, answering in our language to keeper of a prince's wardrobe. He was a Scotchman of handsome figure, theatrical air, and showy accomplishments, with a measured solemnity of manner, imparting an impression that it was not recently assumed, but "dyed in the wool." Mr. Doddington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, was another favorite of a different stamp, a man of courtly talents and pliant constitution, unsteady in his principles, vain, selfish, and inconstant, yet very useful to men of an opposite character; for he was quick in discernment and ca-

pable of giving good advice, yet a gossip withal, as evinced by his printed diary.

His royal Highness, Prince Frederic, was universally considered very much below his brother next in age to him, *William, Duke of Cumberland*, the favorite son of George the Second; for William was very respectable as a man of sense, and a soldier, complete according to the German system of rigid discipline; whereas his elder brother was deficient in the ordinary dictates of prudence. He used to discuss freely and openly with his adherents the general system of his administration when his father's death should call him to the throne, of which he never admitted the least doubt. How unlike his grandson, the present monarch of England! "Perhaps," says the historian of the life of Pitt, Earl of Chatham,* "nothing ever more forcibly proved the uncertain lot of humanity, and the vanity of all human expectations, than the plans and hopes of those who regarded him as their future sovereign. His father's years exceeded those generally allotted to man; and his own succession to the throne was anticipated as an event of almost daily probability. The political aspirant already fancied himself in possession of those honors in a future reign, which were denied to him under the present sovereign."

The court of the late Frederic, Prince of Wales, at Leicester-House, had regarded with an evil eye the old, stiff, and formal assemblage at St. James's. Directly on the unexpected death of the Prince, a

* History of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. By the Rev. Francis Thackeray. 3 vols. 4to. Lond. 1817.

new and strenuous contest arose; and this was for nothing less than who should get possession of *Prince GEORGE*, now the heir apparent, and mould him to their wish and will, so as to influence him after he became king. The ascendancy of his mother was hardly then known beyond the walls of the nursery, nor was the indirect influence of Lord Bute much suspected abroad. The Princess Dowager of Wales, a smart woman of peculiar talents, partaking more of the French cast of character than the English, now incessantly sounded in the ears of her son, this short maxim,—“*George, be KING!*”—that is, being interpreted, ‘Beware of the shackles to which your grandfather submits; do as WE direct you, and beyond that, have your own way’ :—and his own way he had, until the nation was, as we shall see, on the brink of ruin, brought thither by his constitutional obstinacy in his war with these colonies.

Before the death of Frederic, and indeed after it, the aged monarch, his father, was sadly perplexed with little factions springing up, apparently causeless, but really from the lack of diverting objects, which are but few in Britain compared with France. The King and people were pretty constantly haunted by two appalling spectres, one “the Pretender,” the other a French invasion. The exhaustless fund of information, amusement, and gratification derived from the history of nature, from philosophy generally, from the study of physics, from polite literature and the fine arts, found no encouragement at the court of George the Second. The richest noblemen of England, and private gentlemen of

immense fortune, with whom Britain abounds, have not the adequate objects for enjoying their personal wealth in their native island, nor the turn for cultivating their minds which the opulent Dutch have. Hence they leave their homes, and simple forms of religion, to roam in France and in Italy, where amusement and fashion are interwoven with the government and the religion, and reduced almost to a science. It was apparent, that the manners of France, Italy, and Germany had their influence in England, while the spirit of Old England operated little or nothing upon those countries. It was just so in ancient times. The opulent young Romans were wont to stray from home through the more polished states of Greece, to the grief and scandal of the wise and patriotic *Cato*.

The sad degeneracy of manners and principles already hinted at was not owing to Italian or French influence superinduced on a Stuart education, as in the case of King Charles the First; nor was it owing to absolute profligacy, as in the reign of his immoral son; but it sprang from the root of all evil, the love of money, combined with idleness. The gloomy and chilly atmosphere, which settled around the aged monarch, produced a drowsiness in all. Even at the royal levee, the stiff old German monarch generally "stood," says that provoking writer, Horace Walpole, "on one spot, with his eyes fixed on the floor, and but seldom raised to converse, only dropping now and then, a bit of German news. It was more like the den of a lion than the levee of a king." With due allowance for this well known noble snarler, we be-

lieve that Lord Orford had grounds for his sarcastic description. Now this behaviour in the Majesty of Great Britain was not from pride or ill humor, for the King had neither, but from constitutional phlegm, and exotic military manners, which he was too old to throw off. He could not be affable. His very partial and affectionate friend, Earl Waldegrave, says, that when he talked, it was very much to the purpose, but that he could not discourse with ease in a large company. It was a misfortune, it seems, the King could not surmount, unless he was in a great passion. I say a misfortune; for if the chief magistrate of any country is not, to a certain degree, courteous and ready, he will find enemies, where he little suspects or deserves them. This was somewhat the case with King William the Third, who felt the like awkwardness, when called from Holland to the throne of Britain.*

In this gloomy condition of the very fountain of honor and gallant enterprise, the court of London, instead of being a beautiful and fertilizing river, like her own Thames, changed to a stagnant pond, the atmosphere of which became unpleasant and unwholesome, till the famous William Pitt broke its scum and dissipated its deleterious vapors.

While this sluggish state of things lasted, we ought not to be surprised, that gaming, drinking, frivolity,

* Is not this embarrassment more or less the case with every man in a high station, who has not a complete knowledge of the idioms of the language he is to speak in? King William the Third, in answering, extemporaneously, a loyal address upon his first landing in England, when he meant to say, *I come for your good, for the good of you all*, unluckily said, "*I come for your good. for ALL YOUR GOODS!*" This was enough to shut his mouth ever after.

and their debasing concomitants lowered the character of the land whence we of New England sprang. Assuredly, idleness and effeminacy are not the characteristics of the Britons. The spirit of liberty, under most of the Plantagenets, "the barons bold," who obtained the GREAT CHARTER, the unextinguished fire of freedom that glimmered in the embers under the reign of the Tudors and of the Stuarts, the flint and steel of our Puritan ancestry, all, all have shown, on smart collision, how great a matter a little fire kindleth.

Without swerving into the too common cant of the degeneracy of the times, we must acknowledge that there did actually exist in England, from about the year 1741 to 1757, a lamentable deterioration of manners and principles, especially in the vast city of London. It was, however, a favorable symptom, that, in her lethargic condition, the renowned capital and the whole realm felt stung to the quick by the keen reproaches of Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons; and by a few moral writers that appeared about the same time, amongst whom shone pre-eminent the Rev. Dr. Brown, a distinguished episcopal clergyman. The pulpits of the established church are not remarkable for catechizing the court in England; less so than in Paris. Dr. Brown's book ran rapidly through six editions in England and one in Boston, in the year 1758. A few pulpits in Britain followed the example of the author of the "*Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.*" The most glaring vices and follies of the day were, moreover, met by the keen

satire of the drama, and by the moral pencil of *Hogarth*. If some hung their heads with shame, others started back with affright from the mirror thus held up to them. The more serious and reflecting part of the inhabitants of Old England saw with mortification their vexatious condition; with an aged Hanoverian King, a stranger, homesick,* destitute of all taste for the beauties of nature, literature, or the arts.† Of music, he relished only the loud-sounding, rattling peals of a military band. Not altogether wise enough to govern by himself as King of Great Britain, he was not sufficiently magnanimous to be wholly directed by those who were. On ill terms with his eldest son Frederic, he never appeared to regret his loss, while he himself was not correctly moral in his own family. He never seemed to feel himself at home in England. These exotic qualities, propensities, and circumstances conspired to form a thin, perhaps a very thin partition between him and the most correctly moral of the old English nobility. The men respected him

* *Nostalgia*,—Desiderium patriæ, affiniumve. LINNÆUS.

† An anecdote may convey some idea of the taste of the second George, and of his relish for the fine arts. When Hogarth painted "*The March to Finchley*," Lord Chesterfield, then Secretary of State, caused the picture to be brought to the King, thinking that such an admirable painting of his own troops and subjects, enlivened by Hogarth's characteristic humor, would delight the military monarch, as it did every one who gazed on it. But on viewing it, he colored with rage, and exclaimed, "*What does de painter mean? Does he dare to ridicule my soldiers! Take away de trumpery. De fellow deserves to be picketted for his impudence.*" Though half a century has passed away since I saw this admirable picture in the London Foundling-Hospital, every portion of it is fresh in my memory; the production of real genius in a man capable more than any other of representing on canvass, I had almost said, all the parts of speech, even to the interjection.

as brave, just, and of good intentions; and surrounded by the halo of the solemn etiquette of a German Generalissimo, he never appeared otherwise than dignified. If he could not always relish the refined wit of Lord Chesterfield, nor entirely comprehend the pure diction of Lord Chatham's communications, he nevertheless was pleased with the deference and politeness of both, and above all with the promptness, decision, and courage of the latter, as will appear hereafter.

Besides systematic bribery* with a laudable intention, Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to fill his sovereign's breast with alarms of conspiracies to bring in "the Pretender," and of French invasions. After that minister was compelled by the popular current, and Pitt's oratory, to retire, the Pelhams, Thomas and Henry, supplied his place. The latter was Duke of Newcastle; a man of a singular character, and much inferior to his brother, eager and impatient for office, yet ever dreading the dangers of it. He was at once abused, flattered, and ridiculed, yet had he good qualities and great influence. Earl Waldegrave says of him, "In the midst of prosperity and ap-

* "An English minister wrote to Cardinal *Fleury*, Premier of Louis the Fifteenth, thus:—'I pension *half* the Parliament to keep it *quiet*. But as the King's money is not sufficient, they, to whom I give none, clamor loudly for war; it would be expedient for your Eminence to remit me three millions of French livres, in order to silence these barkers. *Gold* is a metal which here [in England] corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of two thousand pounds a year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament as tame as a lamb.'" (*Memoirs of the Marchioness of Pompadour*, pages 57-59. English trans. 1766.) To this end they have in England what they call a *manager* or *conductor* of the House of Commons.

parent happiness, the slightest disappointment, or any imaginary evil, will, in a moment, make him miserable; his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated. Yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution; he is at the very perfection of health, when his fever is at the greatest height. His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself." * Yet this whiffling nobleman continued in the highest employments nearly forty years: when his friends were routed, his Grace of Newcastle still maintained his ground; for he offended no man by his pride, flattered many by an extravagant familiarity; and though he gave bribes, he never was suspected of accepting them; he greatly impaired his estate by keeping up a good parliamentary interest, and he retired without accepting a pension.

The Duke of Newcastle must have possessed some qualities of an able minister; yet, says Lord Waldegrave, "Talk with him concerning public or private business, of a nice and delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant. Hear him speak in Parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reason inconclusive. At the same time, he labors through all the confusion of a debate without the

* Waldegrave's Memoirs, from 1754 to 1758.

least distrust of his own abilities ; fights boldly in the dark ; never gives up the cause, nor is he ever at a loss either for words or arguments ; while his extraordinary care of his health is a jest even among his flatterers."*

This good-natured Duke of Newcastle was prime minister to George the Second, when Mr. Pitt was paymaster. But the latter could not refrain from treating his Grace with contempt. In an official conference, he told the Duke that he was ignorant of his own business, that he engaged for subsidies, while the King was gone to Hanover, without knowing the extent of the sums ; and for alliances without knowing the terms. It may be asked, Why did not the Duke dismiss him ? Because the "*nervous*" minister trembled at the idea of the thunder and lightning of Pitt's oratory in Parliament. So far from resentment, he courted his favor, and sent the Hon. Charles Yorke to secure his alliance, and tender his sincere friendship and entire confidence. Mr. Pitt replied, that he labored under the King's displeasure, which the Duke of Newcastle ought to have removed, as he knew that the royal displeasure arose from misrepresentation ; and until that proscription was taken off he would enter into no conversation whatever, either with his Grace, or any other person from him. Mr. Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), being informed of this difference between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, made a proposal to join Mr. Pitt against the Duke. Mr. Pitt rejected the

* Waldegrave's Memoirs.

proposal.* This anecdote characterizes the men ; a weeping-willow, and an inflexible English oak ; one bending to every breeze, the other haughty, independent, and severe. What a minister for such an honest, straight-forward monarch as George the Second ! I will not risk perplexing the reader and myself by narrating the undignified squabbles that ensued. I shall only remark that the aged King was left by the eager office-seekers in a manner that deserves the name of barbarous. He complained, even with tears, to those about him, that he was ungenerously treated, and that none had conducted towards him with proper consideration since Sir Robert Walpole had been unfeelingly driven away from him.

To this discordant condition of an imbecile court, we may add the unhappy state of morals in every class, as painted by Charles Johnstone in his "*Chrysal, or Adventures of a Guinea*," at a period when vice disdained the mask of decorum. Sir Walter Scott, whom no one will suspect of a disposition to slur the great, says in his Preface to that work, "The general corruption of the ministers themselves, and their undisguised fortunes, acquired by an avowed system of perquisites, carried, in our fathers' times, a corresponding spirit of greed and rapacity into every department, while at the same time it blinded the eyes of those who should have prevented spoliation. If those in subordinate offices paid enormous fees to their superiors, it could only be in order to purchase the privilege for themselves of cheating the

* Anecdotes of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. 7th ed. London. 1810.

public with impunity ; and in the same manner, if commissaries for the army and navy filled the purses of the commanders, they did so only that they might thereby obtain full license to exercise every sort of pillage, at the expense of the miserable privates. We were well acquainted with men of credit and character, who served in the Havana expedition ; and we have always heard them affirm, that the infamous and horrid scenes described in *Chrysal* were not in the slightest degree exaggerated. That attention to the wants, that watchful guardianship of the rights and interests of the private soldier and sailor, which in our days do honor to these services, were then totally unknown. The commanders in each department had in their eye the amassing of wealth, instead of the gathering of laurels, as the minister was determined to enrich himself, with indifference to the welfare of his country ; and the *elder* PITT, as well as *Wolfe*, were considered as characters almost above humanity, not so much for the eloquence and high talents of the one, or the military skill of the other, as because they made the honor and interest of their country their direct and principal object."

It was in this sad condition of things regal and common, when the monarch dwelt, in a great measure isolated, and passed his time heavily, ruminating on his perplexities without seeing clearly his way out of them, that one of the oldest peers of the realm* quitted his retirement, to wait upon his lonely sovereign, and confer with him upon his affairs. On

* Duke of Devonshire.

this occasion he most earnestly and respectfully advised the King to call Mr. Pitt into his service, as the only man, who, by his superior talents, tried integrity, and overwhelming popularity, could restore things to order ; and in this opinion, he was joined by some elevated characters, who had not the most cordial feelings towards "*the Great Commoner*," as he was called. This was a severe trial to the aged monarch's temper, for he hated the very name of Pitt, who had, in the House of Commons, thwarted him in most of his German measures and Hanoverian politics ; but he now felt the necessity of compliance, and he acquiesced in a manner that ought to be recorded to his everlasting honor.*

The King's aversion to Pitt may be easily conceived. He had infinitely more honesty and sincerity than Charles the Second, and as a smiling courtier, he came far short of his grandson ; for if any thing disturbed the former you could instantly perceive it. The ministers of the honest-hearted George the Second always knew where to find *him*.

As to Mr. Pitt, he was naturally haughty, and constitutionally and habitually overbearing. His impatience was probably augmented by his gouty diathesis. He pursued his patriotic course with little regard to the personal feelings of any man, and he could not easily separate great earnestness from harshness of expression. Being all mind, he had an exhaustless

* George the Second suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Queen Caroline, who had quick discernment, sound judgment, great prudence, and strong attachment to her passionate spouse, which she exercised to the best effect in spite of Lady Yarmouth's influence.

treasure of words, and when excited by his subject, he generally used the keenest in exposing ignorance and absurdity, and in denouncing avarice, corruption, and wastefulness. But ever so impetuous, he was always honest, always patriotic and nobly disinterested.

Among the personal friends of George the Second was the Earl of Waldegrave, and the preference did honor to his Majesty's judgment, as that nobleman was wise, learned, and unassuming. Through him the King communicated his heartfelt sentiments to others; for the vacillating Duke of Newcastle, who was jealous of all who had abilities, and ever fearful of the consequences of his own steps, could be no great favorite of a prudent King; yet had he great influence. Horace Walpole (Lord Orford) thus speaks of his Grace: "At a period of detected misgovernment with regard to his country, of ingratitude and disobedience to his master, of caprice, duplicity, and irresolution towards all factions; when under prosecution by Parliament, and frowned on by his Sovereign, at this instant were the hopes, the vows of all men addressed to him. The outcast of the ministry, the scorn of the court, the jest of the people, was the arbiter of Britain! Her king, her patriots, her factions, waited to see into what scale he [the Duke of Newcastle] would fling his influence." Walpole must have transcended his usual style of vituperation, or the Duke must have cunningly distributed gifts and little bribes, wherever he moved or meant to move. Yet this nobleman, thus characterized or caricatured, appeared to his

Majesty the most proper person to treat with respecting a change. With all his foibles, he was, on the whole, a meritorious man. He was a disinterested patriot, spent a princely fortune in honor of his country, and retired without accepting a pension.

The nation had been precipitated into a war without any preparation or provision, with the Duke of Newcastle to conduct it.

On the 11th of June 1757, the *Lord Chief Justice Mansfield* was sent for to attend the King at Kensington, and after much confidential conversation, his Lordship was empowered to negotiate with Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle; and a ministry was formed according to Mr. Pitt's arrangement. Without detailing the whole, we shall only remark, that Lord Temple was appointed privy seal, the Right Hon. Henry Fox paymaster of all the land forces, and Mr. Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden) attorney general.

And this is the commencement of WILLIAM PITT'S GLORIOUS ADMINISTRATION, during which the power of Great Britain was carried to the highest pitch of renown, partly by the coalition of three heretofore discordant parties, but chiefly by the master-mind, and the extraordinary and honorable popularity, of the great Statesman whom the King, in the true spirit of magnanimity, had called to administer the government.

The following truly sapient sentences were uttered at the first audience of business between the King and his new minister. MR. PITT. "*Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.*" THE KING. "*De-*

serve my confidence, and you shall have it." Each kept his word to the end of his Majesty's reign; and the nation rejoiced in her prosperity accordingly.

Behold, then, my countrymen,—for I write for you,—an English gentleman, a member of the British House of Representatives, a man without title or fortune, suffering under a cruel hereditary disease, liable to all its dreadful recurrences, a cripple, unable to mount a horse, wielding the destinies of the first maritime nation on the globe, in behalf of an aged and passionate monarch, whose highest eulogium was that of a brave heart and good intentions, and who for a series of years could never hear the name of Pitt without visible marks of anger.

The minister had an Herculean task before him. He first endeavoured to redeem the English character from the reproach cast upon it by the Walpolean system of bribery. But in the invidious enterprise of reformation, difficulties, appalling to any other man, stared him in the face at every turn. Nor was the Duke of Newcastle heartily disposed to lessen them. Pitt's personal character and conduct had a good effect, and formed a striking contrast to the prevalent manners of the times. He, like Cardinal Richelieu, gave no dinners or suppers, had no levees; but kept aloof from those moths of time, health, and mental energy: yet not a measure he suggested, action performed, or word uttered, but was distorted to some malicious purpose. He had an excellent coadjutor in the person of the Hon. H. B. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, a gentleman of distinguished abilities and sterling integrity.

The next object of Mr. Pitt's solicitude was the security of these North American colonies from the encroachments of the French, who, with their allies, the Indians, were making an alarming progress on our frontiers. He laid a train for the destruction of the power of France in this new world, and effected it by the skill and bravery of Generals *Wolfe* and *Amherst*.*

At home, he roused the slumbering faculties of a then luxurious and spiritless generation. By his extraordinary energy, and his wonderful powers of eloquence, he excited the pride of the legislature; called forth reflective reason, and directed it to the reformation of manners and principles. He awakened the army and the navy from their dreaming indolence, and inspired the whole nation, too long sunk in the laziness of peace. Lest this picture may be thought highly colored, we subjoin what has been said of the British officers of that day, by an eminent writer in the present reign, renowned for his loyalty.† “No science was required on the part of the candidate for a commission, no term of service as a cadet, no previous experience whatsoever; the promotion went on equally unimpeded; the boy let loose from school the last week, might in the course of a month be a field-officer, if his friends were disposed to be liberal of money and influence. Others there were, against whom there could be no complaint for want of length

* The conquest of Canada was earnestly recommended to the Earl of Chatham, when Mr. Pitt, by Dr. Franklin.

† Sir Walter Scott. *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, Vol. iv. p. 291. Boston edit. 1829.

of service, although it might be difficult to see how their experience was improved by it. It was no uncommon thing for a commission to be obtained for a child in the cradle ; and when he came from college, the fortunate youth was at least a lieutenant of some standing, by dint of fair promotion. To sum up this catalogue of abuses, commissions were in some instances bestowed upon young ladies, when pensions could not be had. We knew ourselves," says Sir Walter Scott, "one fair dame who drew the pay of captain in the —— dragoons, and was probably not much less fit for the service than some who, at that period, actually did duty ; for, as we have said, no knowledge of any kind was demanded from the young officers. If they desired to improve themselves in the essential parts of their profession, there were no means open either of direction or of instruction." —"An intelligent sergeant whispered, from time to time, the word of command, which his captain would have been ashamed to have known without prompting ; and thus the duty of the field-day was huddled over rather than performed."

If this was the case even since our last war with the British, as here represented, what might it not have been under Lord Loudon in America ; and under Admiral Byng in the Mediterranean in the year 1755 ?

When Pitt took the reins of government the officers, both of sea and land, felt they had now a new master, acquainted thoroughly with his own duties and with theirs. With a keen eye, he scrutinized every department ; and breathed into a startled nation the breath of life, every part of which, even to "these

ends of the earth," (characteristically so called by the London Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,) felt the warmth of his invigorating mind, which produced industry, regularity, and despatch. There was then harmony at Head Quarters, and unanimity in Parliament. Forty-four French ships of the line, sixty-one frigates, and twenty-six sloops of war, were taken or destroyed by the British; and with them the commerce of France was in a manner annihilated. In about three years, Pitt wrested from France all her most valuable islands and possessions in both Indies. Nor did his victories stop there; he prostrated her dangerous power on this continent by the entire conquest of Canada. The annals of no two equally civilized nations afford a parallel instance. Prior to this, France was more renowned for arts and arms than England. The modern language of Mars was the French tongue, and we ourselves could not talk properly of the theory or the practice of war, without using it.

At that epoch, the whole British Empire, in all its vastness, these now United States being then a part of it, included a portion of what used to be called the Mogul Empire, with many islands and colonies in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. They all looked up with grateful admiration to the Right Hon. William Pitt, as the origin, fountain, and cause of this extraordinary prosperity. Beside the advantages derived from conquests over France and her ally, Spain, that minister had the everlasting honor to leave the late thirteen British colonies in perfect security and happiness; the inhabitants glowing with

warm affection for the parent country, and rejoicing to see riches and glory flow in upon her, from all quarters of the habitable globe. This was the acme of England's power and glory, and of our colonial contentment and good-humor.

In the midst of this unexampled prosperity, colonial contentment, ministerial cordiality, and kingly gratification, George the Second, in the plenitude of health and ruddy old age, dropt dead, as suddenly as if shot, without any previous indisposition. The cause of so sudden extinction of life in an apparently healthy man was accounted extraordinary among physicians,—a bursting of the heart.* The public astonishment was great, and the first effects astounding.

We have mentioned with approbation a well written work entitled "*Anecdotes of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; and of the principal Events of his Time, with his Speeches in Parliament.*" This modest publication without a name, was evidently countenanced from the first edition, by EARL TEMPLE, and by his sister, the DOWAGER COUNTESS OF CHATHAM, the first LORD LYTTLETON, Governor Pownall, and several other noblemen and gentlemen. The nineteenth chapter opens thus :

"Unfortunately for the glory and interest of Great Britain, on the 25th of October, 1760, the venerable

* A rupture of either ventricle of the heart is very rare, especially when there was no violent muscular exertion, or mental rage. We may, however, remark as a fact, that, in our medical books, there are more instances of Germans dying suddenly from suppressed violent passion, than of any other people. In phlegmatic habits, it is apt to sink them into insanity.

GEORGE *the Second* died. As to the successor, the effects of the wickedness of his advisers have been, and are still, too deeply felt to be described in any terms adequate to the injuries committed. Posterity, in a subsequent age, when truth may be spoken, and the motives of men laid open, will be astonished at the conduct of their ancestors at this period." Leaving opinions, let us return to facts.

When Frederic, Prince of Wales, died (in 1751), he left behind a little fretful court where vegetated, in a hot-bed of toryism, his son *Prince GEORGE*, the future King of England. To this picture we must add the figure of a Saxo-Gothic Princess Dowager of Wales, smiling in her weeds with the hope of retaining under her entire influence this her eldest son, that she might govern him as heretofore, after he should become king. This is the woman whom the indignant JUNIUS called the Dæmon of Discord, who watched with a kind of providential malignity over the work of her hands, to correct, improve, and preserve it. "I consider her," says that caustic writer, "not only as the original creating cause of the shameful and deplorable condition of this country, but as a being whose operation is uniform and permanent." *

The Earl of Waldegrave, Governor to Prince George, informs us, that in the year 1755, after George the Second returned from Hanover, where he went almost every year, he sent for the *Prince of Wales* into his closet, to find out the extent of his

* Letter lxxxvii, 17th Jan. 1771, under the signature of *Domitian*, recognised by JUNIUS to Mr. Woodfall.

political knowledge, to sift him in relation to Hanover, and to caution him against evil counsellors ; that the discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate, but the manner not quite gracious ; that the Prince was flustered and sulky ; bowed, but scarce made any answer ; so the conference ended, very little to the satisfaction of either party. The judicious Lord Waldegrave tacks to the anecdote this remark :—"Here his Majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake ; instead of sending for the Prince, he should have spoken firmly to the mother ; told her, that as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct ; that he would overlook what was past, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner ; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter." To which, the noble Governor subjoins this cutting sentence :—"He might then have ended his admonition, by whispering a word in her ear, which would have made her tremble, *in spite of her spotless innocence.*" *

Mr. Nichols tells us, that *Lord Camden*, at that time, Mr. Attorney General Pratt, said to his father, (who was physician in ordinary to George the Second,)—"I see, Doctor, already, that this will be a weak and inglorious reign." That illustrious nobleman and eminent lawyer, the intimate and dear friend of Lord Chatham, lived to see and to feel his prediction amply verified ; yet was this unpromising Prince *George* destined to be the long-lived king of

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 51.

the Britons, the Irish, and of a great portion of the Eastern and Western world; and to occupy, by his misfortunes, an uncommonly large space in English history.

The Leicester-House faction, or fragments of the late systematized opposition, worked with redoubled diligence after the death of the King in sowing the seeds of ambition and mischief, which taking root in a congenial soil produced a baleful fruit, that first poisoned the obstinate mind of George the Third, and finally destroyed it. The evil had been engendering as far back as the "*glorious year fifty-nine*"; when Parliament were unanimous in favor of all Pitt's warlike measures, and the British arms every where victorious. We need not say that he was the object of envy and hatred. It followed of course in a mind marked by a strong will and weak judgment. The evil or inflamed eye was pained by Pitt's dazzling brightness, and it was resolved to eclipse it by the intervention of Lord Bute; accordingly this Scotch nobleman was pushed forward and promoted in so extraordinary a manner, that he soon obtained the odious name of *Favorite*.

There were very few signs of cordiality between Frederic, Prince of Wales, and his German spouse. He was not a man of talents, nor studious of the British constitution. He was not a bad man. "He amassed no private treasures, nor adopted any sinister advice with a view to obtain them; he was not insane, nor under the private tuition of the Princess." * This exalted lady had the reputation of

* Anecdotes of the Life of Chatham, chap. 8.

first-rate understanding, by those who knew her not. Lord Waldegrave, who, from his station, must have known her perfectly, says she was "one of those moderate geniuses, who, with much dissimulation, a civil address, an assenting conversation, and few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety, as long as they are conducted by wise and prudent counsellors." He adds that she retained all the jealousy which divided the royal family during the life of her husband; dreading the power of the Duke of Cumberland, and hating him as much as she feared him.* The *Favorite* was thought to have a very natural hatred towards "*the hero of Culloden*," the greatly beloved son of the late monarch. A curious anecdote may illustrate all that we have said of the cabal at Leicester-House. His Royal Highness the *Duke of Cumberland* invited his nephew Prince George, when a youth of fourteen, to spend a day at his residence, when he sought by various means to gratify and amuse him. After showing him pictures, books, and articles of curiosity, he took him into a kind of epitomized armory, where were bows and arrows, and halberts, elegant muskets and pistols, and variously formed swords of different nations; one, more splendid than the rest, he took down to show his nephew, on account of its richness and brightness; on drawing it out of its sheath, the boy screamed as if he would go into fits; fell on his knees, and in an agony of tears, begged his uncle not to kill him. The Duke stood petrified with astonishment and mortification; as well he might. As soon

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.

as the royal youth became sufficiently composed from his fright, the Duke accompanied him home to his mother; but not without communicating the disagreeable occurrence, and inquiring whether the terror of Prince George arose from a natural timidity, or from his education and transient conversation.

Although a child, I remember the period of the death of King George the Second, and the very high expectations entertained of his successor, "*the British born King.*" We, in New England, were taught to believe that George the Third was a remarkably sober, virtuous, and pious young man. On his accession to the throne, our pulpits hailed him as such; and the University in this place, the oldest in America, and justly deemed in that day the very heart of New England, poured forth its condolence, praises, gratulations, and expectations, in English prose, and Greek and Latin verse, making a considerable volume, which was presented to his sacred Majesty by the colony agent, and most graciously received.*

* The neat volume was entitled PIETAS ET GRATULATIO COLLEGII CANTABRIGIENSIS APUD NOVANGLOS. Bostoni, Massachusettensium. Typis J. Green & J. Russell. 4to. 1761.

The prefatory address to the young king was sufficiently high seasoned to be relished by any of the Stuart race, if not by the last of the Tudors.* The College availed itself of this apparently auspicious opportunity to ask his Majesty to extend his royal bounty to help and encourage their infant seminary. To which they received this courtly answer; that "*a College capable of producing such a specimen of genius and learning, stood in no need of help from England.*" A brilliant spark, struck out by *flint and steel*;—*John Bull*, and *Jonathan*;—an Episcopalian and a Presbyterian! The English government, since the accession of

* See Appendix, A.

Whatever may have been said of the obduracy of George the Third, or insinuated respecting his sincerity, all must allow that his behaviour during his youthful minority was morally correct. It is an awkward, trying, and dangerous period to an heir apparent or presumptive, roaming between daylight and dark amidst enemies, under which head we class all flatterers. In this state of ambiguity not a few have lost their way, from the Plantagenets to the last of the Stuarts. Several expectant kings among the British Princes have filled up this irksome space with disgraceful dissipation. Their education has been more strict and more military since the revolution. Yet it remains a question, whether the governors and instructors of the princes of the House of Brunswick surpassed the ancient *Magi* in the faculty of teaching princes to instruct themselves, by means of ingenious and happily adapted allegories, selected from the unceasing operations of nature, discernible every where in the economy of the mundane system, and throughout lower creation. Instead of studying the balance of power, the extent of George the Second's political knowledge, those ancient moral philosophers, made from the frame of visible nature, a mirror for the government of a kingdom, and thus gave wholesome lessons from the material world to regulate the moral and political one. George the Third appears, from his conduct towards America, never to have been instructed in this book of wis-

George the Third, never heartily relished colonial precocity of talent, which was discernible in this little volume, and spoken of in that strain in the London Reviews of 1761.

dom, written by the finger of nature herself;—the irresistible tendency of intellectual and material things, and the common operations of the human heart, seem to have escaped his observation.

George, Prince of Wales, having no rakish seeds to germinate within him, passed the trying period of his youthful minority chiefly in the nursery of his mother, and in the conversation of correct women; and in company of the Earl of Bute, from whom he learnt princely behaviour, and acquired a portion of that nobleman's Spanish stateliness and theatrical manner. As a domestic man George the Third was addicted to no vice, and swayed by no passion. He was not a weak man. If his objects were little and injudiciously chosen, no monarch, says Mr. Nichols, ever displayed more dexterity in *his choice of means* to obtain those objects. Nor can any thing be more just than the sentiments of the same gentleman respecting the Princess Dowager, when he says, "The mother of George the Third had formed her ideas of sovereign power at the court of her father, and she could never bring herself to be of opinion, that sovereignty should be exercised in Great Britain in a manner different from that in which she had seen it exercised at her father's court. In Saxe-Gotha, the sovereignty is *property*; in Great Britain, it is *magistracy*. There, the sovereign's personal wishes and opinions are to be obeyed, and he is his own minister. In Great Britain the sovereign is to choose for his ministers those whom he thinks most qualified to advise measures beneficial to the country. If he does not approve of the measures they

recommend, he may remove his ministers and appoint others; but whatever measures are carried into effect, the advisers, ought not only to be responsible, but distinctly known, and recognised as the advisers.* This is not an opinion, which has been only theoretically adopted by those who have treated of the English constitution; it has been explicitly declared in parliament."† Yet George the Third never adhered to it. *Christina*, the learned Queen of Sweden, said that "the world was deceived when it supposed that Princes are governed by their ministers. However weak a Prince is, he has always more power than his minister. Those persons, said she, who pretend to govern Princes, resemble the keepers of lions and tigers, who most assuredly make these animals play the tricks they wish them to play. At first sight, one would imagine that the animals were completely subservient to their keepers; but, when they least expect it, a pat of the claw, not of the gentlest kind, fells the keepers to the ground, who then begin to find, that they never can be perfectly certain that they have completely tamed the animals." Do not the history of Cardinal Wolsey, and the threats of the King to impeach Lord North for his disgraceful American war, justify the opinion of the philosophic Queen?

* This is not the case in these United States, but directly the reverse; here the President or Chief Magistrate is alone responsible, and liable to impeachment, while the ministers, or heads of departments, are not liable for any advice given or measures executed.

† See "Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs, during the Reign of George the Third. By John Nichols, Esq. member of the House of Commons, in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Parliament of Great Britain."

“When the Princess of Wales,” says Mr. Nichols, “came to the Court of England, she found the British Sovereign a very different character from that which she had seen at Saxe-Gotha. She found him controlled by his ministers, indulged in petty gratifications, but compelled to submit to their opinions on all important subjects. We cannot therefore be surprised that she was disgusted with this; and that she ever after impressed upon her son, from his early years, this lesson,—‘GEORGE, BE KING!’ And this lesson seems to have influenced the King’s conduct through the whole of his life. Extreme apprehension that his ministers or others might encroach upon his power, an earnest wish that he might exercise his power personally, or, in other words, that he might be his own minister, have, in a very singular manner, marked his conduct during the whole of his reign.” *

As this was undoubtedly the case, how could it be expected, that a young king so disposed, and so educated would retain for a prime minister such a rigidly just and all-commanding personage as the Earl of Chatham? How to get rid of him was the question. His character was honorable, his abilities transcendent, his integrity beyond suspicion, his private life spotless, and his popularity beyond all example.

When George the Third came to the crown the administration was in possession of the Pelham party, much strengthened by its alliance with Pitt, and popular from his successful conduct of the war. It was perilous to attempt to change such an adminis-

* Nichols’s Recollections and Reflections.

tration ; yet the King and Lord Bute ventured upon it, and, strange to relate, they succeeded.

Within six months after the death of George the Second, it was deemed unfashionable in the first circles to speak in terms of much respect of the late monarch, whose domestic character was triumphantly contrasted with that of his chaste and pious grandson. War began then to be denounced as an anti-christian practice. At length every victory was called a bleeding and dangerous wound on the nearly exhausted body of poor Britannia. Pitt's warlike ambition, instead of being considered a national benefit, was said to be draining to exhaustion the finances of the kingdom ;—in a word, that England was in danger of ruin by her victories ; and this style of talking became polite among lords and ladies. All this gradually explained itself, by the discovery of Lord Bute's early resolution to pull down, if possible, the mighty Pitt, who stood like a lion in his path. Directly on the death of the late King, Lord Bute betrayed his intentions. " Scarcely was the ink dry which had marked his name upon the council-book, when, although no minister himself, yet he assumed a magisterial air of authority, and began to give law in the court ; and to show, not only with what contempt he meant to treat the memory and conduct of the deceased monarch, but his dislike of the measures which were then, and had for some time been pursued ; and in order to affront the ministers and the allied army, he invited to court, while the late King lay dead in his palace, the only unpopular man at that time in the kingdom [Lord George Sack-

ville], who but a few months before, had been degraded from his rank for disobedience of orders, when in the service of his country."* But in spite of the baleful influence of Bute, of the Princess Dowager, and of their numerous hireling writers, chiefly from beyond the Tweed, the illustrious commoner yet maintained his popularity. The Parliament was still with him. He stood erect, the pride of the nation, and the dread of her enemies.

The renowned kingdom of France, composed of a wonderful people, if not ruined on the ocean, was driven to the very verge of a gulf leading to bankruptcy, and that chiefly by the suddenly collected energies of Great Britain and of these colonies, wielded by the mighty hand of one man, too decrepit in body to mount a horse. Not but that France had been, for a series of years, predisposed to deep national disorders, having endured ignoble depressions, according to the testimony of their own writers.†

After twelve years of supine peace under the reign of good Louis the Sixteenth, France was gradually awakened by a happy influence from these far distant regions, inhabited by the descendants of transplanted Europeans, principally from an English stock. These last were educated pretty generally in the belief that a Frenchman, a Spaniard, a Papist, and the great

* *History of the Minority*, from the years 1762 to 1765, 4th edition, London, 1776.

† See the *History of the Private Life of Louis the Fifteenth*. This careless monarch died the same year that our first Congress assembled, leaving his people little reason to boast of his virtue, energy, or military force.

enemy of mankind were consociated to destroy all that was good in morals, holy in religion, or safe in government.*

From between the years 1758 and 1762 France was, in effect, conquered. She was so weak as not to be able to stand alone ; and was therefore compelled to seek the aid of degenerate Spain to support her tottering steps. Through the mediation of their common spiritual father the Pope, the court of Madrid acceded to the plaintive request of France ; and this led to a close and natural alliance between the two Kings, or rather, three Kings of France, Spain, and the Sicilies ; forming what was called "the family compact," or family alliance of the HOUSE OF BOURBON ; which confederacy bound them together by the triple cord of politics, kindred, and religion. This famous league was made in December, 1761. Mr. Pitt had early information of the design, and spoke of it in council. At length he discovered the warlike preparations of Spain, and notwithstanding her asseverations of peace, he was fully satisfied of the intentions of the insidious court of Madrid to co-operate with France in her existing

* During nearly two centuries, the people of Boston and of the principal sea-ports in New England, paraded the effigies of the Pope and the Devil, and in later times "*the Pretender*," through the streets, and at night committed them to the flames. They continued this *act of faith (auto de fe)* every fifth of November from an early period in the settlement of this country, until the French fleet arrived in the harbour of Boston, when *Samuel Adams* thought it was hardly so polite to treat "our great and good allies," with this strange spectacle ; and the populace submitted, as usual, to his opinion. The fact shows our British education ; and also the first fruits of our emancipation from their bigotry.

war with England ; and he spoke of it publicly, and urged strongly the prudence of striking the first blow.

This treaty offensive and defensive sets forth, that the *motives* of it were the ties of blood between the Kings of France and Spain ; and the *object* to give stability and permanency to these ties, which naturally grow out of affinity and friendship ; and to establish a solemn and lasting monument of the reciprocal interest, which ought to be the basis of the desires of the two monarchs, and of the prosperity of their royal families. It contains twenty-eight articles. We record only three of them.

“ First. Both Kings will, for the future, look upon every power as their enemy that becomes the enemy of either.

“ Secondly. Their Majesties reciprocally guaranty all their dominions in whatever part of the world they be situated.

“ Thirdly. The two Kings extend their guaranty to the King of the two Sicilies, and infant Duke of Parma, on condition that these two princes guaranty the dominions of their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties.”

In modern times, did ever the head of the Roman Catholic Church devise a stronger connexion between kingdoms than this triple tie of kindred, religion, and politics ?

Mr. Pitt said in council, that this was the *very time* for humbling the whole House of Bourbon,—that if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered. But as Pitt’s great glory grew out of his successful war with France, Lord Bute knew that a

peace would shear him of his beams, and diminish his popularity.

Lord Temple supported his brother-in-law, the minister, at the council-board, while the Duke of Newcastle sat mute as a mummy. Pitt declared that he should no longer sit with them. Thanking the ministers of the late King for their support, he said "he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a situation, which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide."

When Mr. Pitt made this peremptory address in the Council, *Lord Granville*, its President, replied thus :

"I find the gentleman is determined to leave us; nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him. But if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the *people*, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets, that at this board, he is only responsible to *the King*. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes." *

* See Annual Register, 1761, p. 44. Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, and Thackeray's Life of him, vol. i. p. 592.

Lord Granville, highly spoken of by Dean Swift, when Lord Carteret, was generally thought to envy Pitt's fame and talents. He somewhat resembled our great statesman in his oratory, austerity of manner, and self-sufficiency, but in little else. Seeing the wind and tide had turned at St. James's, it is not improbable that he might have been selected by the *Favorite*, as Hume Campbell was in the House of Commons in 1755, to return some of Pitt's "*eternal invectives*." The British Demosthenes annihilated the latter; and if he replied to the President of the Council, I have never seen his reply. Lord Granville had considerable weight of talents and of experience in the preceding reign. He was haughty, intemperate, and of an inflexible temper, with a short and positive way of expressing it; yet we should hardly have believed that even he would dare to address Pitt in such a bitter style of reproof. He said in the latter part of the reign of George the Second, that the King was surrounded by a faction, that he was a prisoner on his throne, and that a different administration ought to be formed for the interest of the country, and the emancipation of the King. We learn from these anecdotes that *every shuice was opened to sweep Pitt off his ground*.

When George the Second died, the British Empire, in all its vastness and territorial grandeur, was hardly second to that of Rome. Its matchless commerce bound the world together by a golden chain, while its laws utterly abjured slavery. Every "*liber homo*," to use the words of *Magna Charta*, was protected, encouraged, and controlled by the

operation of printed laws, and tried by juries composed of his neighbours in open court, on the halls of which was inscribed *Patet omnibus*.

Then all was vigor, animation, and industry. Riches and glory flowed into Britain from every quarter of the globe.

“Gods! what a golden scene was this,
Of public fame and private bliss.”*

From this general view of things, we can form some idea of the rare talents, and extraordinary merit of Mr. Pitt, which raised him in the view of a grateful people to the highest pinnacle of popularity at home, and fame abroad. Such was the state of things when the old King died. The condition of affairs was changed after his grandson reigned in his stead. The first object seemed to be the destruction of Mr. Pitt's great influence. In the defamatory publications of the day (and they were beyond all example numerous), the illustrious minister, and all the old whigs, were sneeringly styled “*Republicans*,” an unpleasant denomination in a monarchy. The press teemed with the lowest abuse. His life, public and private, was sifted with a sort of diabolical malignity. The successes of his administration were depreciated, his few faults monstrously exaggerated; and this at a time when Mr. Burke said of him,—“He revived the military genius of our people; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and on his departure from administration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever must

* Ode by E. Seymour Esq., M. P

attend exorbitant power, and the temptation which may be to the invidious exertion of it. Happy had it been for him, for his sovereign, and his country, if a temper less austere, and a disposition more practicable, more compliant and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues." *

Thus expatiates the copious Burke, without stopping to consider, that he would have been no longer the great William Pitt. "The want of these qualities," adds the same writer, "disabled him from acting any otherwise than *alone*. It prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded each other; and finally, which was not the meanest loss, it deprived *us* [the Rockingham party] of his own immediate services."

On which we would remark, that nature creates monarchs even in the brute creation. Among birds, the eagle acts *alone*, while doves crowd together in flocks. Among quadrupeds, the lion acts *alone*, while sheep congregate; like doves, from conscious weakness.

While this baleful influence was operating in England upon that class of the community which includes the voters, and comprehends their representatives, hypocrisy was preaching to the young monarch against the antichristian practice of war, depicting the horrors of its multiform cruelties, and contrasting the barbarous custom with the evangelical spirit of peace. The archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, was so far taken in by the then fashionable court-

* Annual Register for 1761, p. 47.

cant, that he, good man, exulting in the pious disposition of the young "defender of the faith," visited him very often, and, for a considerable time, really believed that he should become his most influential counsellor, if not spiritual director. At court, you would have thought that the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, the Dukes of Bedford and of Newcastle, Lords Granville, Sandwich, and Barrington, Bub Doddington, Charles Jenkinson,* and Jerry Dyson were not far from the threshold of the tabernacle. We dare not add to these, the name of *Henry Fox*, that "piece of pure and distinguished virtue," lest the reader should suspect that the whole we have said is mere romance. It is true, however, that this old friend and schoolfellow of Pitt, was at that time devoted to Lord Bute; but was of a character that disdained even the appearance of religion. Whether so or not, they certainly rendered that sort of talk fashionable at court. It caught in subordinate circles, and the contagion spread to successive ones, until it met the inferior distant echoes of the bribed electors, and the abused multitude; and thus, from an imported taint, the whole lump became leavened, fit for the plastic hand of the second-sighted chief juggler.

Mr. Pitt saw, and clearly understood all these movements, and had a perfect idea of the construction and principles of their most powerful engines, and retired from them with a dignity, disinterestedness, and purity of character, which cast, by the con-

* Mr. Jenkinson was Private Secretary to Lord Bute, known of late years by the title of *Lord Liverpool*.

trast, a deep shade upon that of the very rich Sir Robert Walpole. It is very difficult to conceive how the King could have done otherwise than make Pitt a peer. Some have said that it was cunningly and mischievously done to destroy his popularity. If so, it was doing a very natural and indeed an unavoidable thing ; and if it had in any degree that effect, the great man might have said in the words of his admired author,—“If these things be necessities, let’s meet them like necessities;” he did so.*

* “*Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea*,” written by Charles Johnstone, a satirical publication in 1760, and announced as “a dispassionate distinct account of the most remarkable transactions of the present times all over Europe.” In this popular work, though there be now and then ideal touches beyond the simple truth of character, yet every anecdote has its foundation in truth. Facts have here only the thin drapery of romance. See, to our purpose, the dialogue between the Jew broker, *Aminadab*, and *Van Hogen*, the grand pensioner of Holland, who, inveighing bitterly against the English, threatened to declare war. The wary Jew, just come over from England, where he had long resided, tells him—“Matters are now changed. We have got a *manager*, who neither drinks, nor games, nor keeps running horses, nor whores, nor lives above his private fortune, and therefore has not such pressing demands for money, as used to make our negotiations go on so smoothly with others formerly. There is a perverseness of the people in power *at present*.” *Van Hogen*. “Will they not take money?” *Aminadab*. “No, indeed ; nor does the boldest of us know how to offer it with safety, it was rejected with such indignant rage the last time. I have seen the day, and that not very long since, when half the sum would have done twice as much. Matters have strangely altered of late.” *Van Hogen*. “What shall we do? Is the whole court corrupted by his example? Are they all infected with such a strange madness?” *Aminadab*. “No, it is not gone so far as that yet ; and it is to be hoped that the example of a few will not be able to do so much ; and that when the novelty of this humor wears off a little, it will go out of fashion insensibly, and things return to their old course. This is supposing the worst, that the engines now at work to overturn this new set, should miscarry.”

It may be said,—Why cite a professed satirist in an historical work? We reply,—Why quote Juvenal or Swift?

We behold him now EARL OF CHATHAM, into which title he sunk, as some thought, the great name of WILLIAM PITT. But the voice of evanescent public opinion is not the voice of *History*. We in this New World, or, to speak with precision, in these United States, have but an imperfect idea of the venality of administrations in certain kingdoms in Europe. Contending parties and angry debaters *here* talk of corruption where it never existed. It reigned and triumphed during a greater part of the life of George the Second; and although Lord Chatham called for and expended vast sums of money, he never enriched himself or friends. It was all for the nation, for the increase of its power, glory, and example.

Although Chatham nobly led, all his old friends did not follow. Not a few of the opposition or minority did worse than hesitate; for after Lords Chatham, Temple, and Rockingham recoiled from the influence of Lord Bute and his associates, the opposition showed how much their patriotism was worth. To show the value of it, we cite a paragraph from "The History of the Minority, during the Years 1762-'3-'4 and '5." "A point so highly interesting to the subject (as *general warrants*) a true patriot would not have suffered to remain unnoticed. But the fact is, the *minority* had neither true patriotism, true virtue, nor common honesty; for they now showed themselves to be hypocrites to the cause, impostors upon the public, and traitors to each other. No party ever was so truly contemptible in such a very short time.

“It soon became obvious to all mankind, that the sole purpose of this sham pursuit of liberty was the possession of lucrative offices. Lord Chatham, seeing of what stuff they were made, kept aloof. He did not attend Parliament during the whole session. Lord Temple declared to the Duke of Newcastle and others of the party, that if the only end proposed by opposition, was, singly and exclusively, the possession of the great offices, for the sake of the salaries of them; if nothing was intended for the public; and if they would neither propose nor support any motion or measure, for the true security of liberty, and the real advantage of the people, he would not lend himself as a cover to any such principles.” * Opposition was now entirely at an end. The venal part of the minority found themselves detected. Those colors under which they flattered themselves their designs would have been concealed, were now withdrawn; and they appeared like a fugitive corps, without clothing, arms, or officers. For some time they wandered in this desolate and disconsolate plight; and at length finding that no party would accept of them, they became quite broken-hearted, and in a short time were almost totally dispersed.

“Such was the fate of the late minority: a party which had been originally formed for the best and most laudable purposes, namely, to resist the powers and measures of a mischievous favorite; and when he had been defeated, *to defend the constitution and the liberties of the subject, by opposing and censuring all arbitrary violations of ministers.* These were the

* History of the Minority, chap. xxi.

objects of opposition. The *first* was in part accomplished by the *North Briton*. But out of that victory arose the *second*, which was scandalously deserted by the body of the party ; who, acting wholly upon the temporizing principle of making their peace at St. James's as soon as possible, in order to lose no opportunity of getting into office, were never in earnest in the cause of liberty, and were continually checking every measure, and betraying every man who obstructed their selfish and interested views. No party had ever such admirable ground to go upon ; and had the men been but half as good as the cause, no administration, however supported, could have withstood them. The influence of the favorite, together with the whole fabric of *his* system, must have been destroyed for ever."*

That Pitt richly merited the highest honors a king of Great Britain could bestow, few can doubt who duly consider the life, conduct, and extraordinary character of that great man. Yet his acceptance of a peerage with a corresponding pension was cried out against as a flagrant desertion of the people's cause, and abandonment of his former principles. Those who were called Lord Bute's hireling writers took advantage of it, and heaped abuse upon the new-made peer with a view to destroy his popularity. A number of these were employed, at a very great expense, to beat down the towering spirit of the great orator and patriot. But the abuse was not confined wholly to them. Some envious peers as well as

* History of the Minority, chap. xxi. 4th edition. London, 1766.

commoners were far from discountenancing the effort for reducing Lord Chatham to a level with themselves. A strong impediment to these designs was the existence of a small but nobly patriotic band in Parliament, men of great weight of character, such as Temple, Rockingham, Camden, and Burke. Yet the young, inexperienced, and ill-advised monarch took the resolution to remove this obstacle, and, with that view, actually ventured to dissolve the great council of the nation in the year 1761.

From that inauspicious day, George the Third might date the commencement of his unhappiness, and Great Britain her manifold disasters; some of which she yet feels and deplores, while we Americans, since separated from her, have no reason to bewail the event, seeing it led to our independence.

A new Parliament was about convening. A few weeks before it met, foreign agents, and certain British sub-agents, were busily employed in preparing for the purchase of peace from England. The ground had been prepared before the seed arrived; and the rich Duke of Bedford was about embarking for France, as Lord Bute's representative, while the bulk of the nation were very far from being tired of the war, as success followed the British colors in every quarter of the world.

The first manifestation of the tainted condition of things was discernible at Head-Quarters, in doubling the number of attendants and servants at the palace, and in multiplying donatives beyond all former example.* Twenty-five thousand pounds were is-

* A member of Parliament was, at that time, a turnspit in the king's kitchen. We assert it on the authority of Mr. Burke.

sued in one day in bank notes of one hundred pounds each, when the only stipulation was—" *Give us your vote.*" Loyal addresses from various quarters were presented to the King; thanking him for his gracious efforts to make peace with France and Spain. One from the venerable University of Oxford tells his Majesty that "he was ordained, by the peculiar favor of Providence, to repair the ruins and ravages of a destructive war." As if England was madly rushing to ruin, by her uninterrupted victories over the forces of the united powers of the House of Bourbon. Hence the necessity of an immediate peace with a prostrate enemy!

We are informed from respectable authority, that "the addresses to the King, which followed the parliamentary approbation of the preliminary articles of peace, were obtained by means equally dishonorable and corrupt. There was one instance where the seal of a corporation was forged, and more than one where it was feloniously obtained."* Lord Bute tampered with the city, which refused to address although the sum of fourteen thousand pounds was offered to complete Black Friars' bridge. This offer they disdained, and after finishing it themselves, they dedicated that noble structure to the Earl of Chatham, by an highly complimentary inscription. The authority just cited informs us that "no means were left untried every where to obtain addresses. The Lord-Lieutenants had begging letters sent them to use their influence, and five hundred pounds secret service-money were added to each letter. The

* Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham

sum of five hundred pounds was the notorious price of an address. Some addresses cost a much larger sum, according to the importance and magnitude of the place from which the address was obtained." It was remarked that during the time Lord Bute held his public situation as prime minister, no favorite exercised the power of the crown with more insolence. Can imagination conceive any thing more irritating, more enraging to such a lofty spirit as that of Chatham, than seeing the work of his glorious life, the result of his matchless labors, pulled down before his eyes, by an infamous and inadequate peace; the solid pyramid of his fame dilapidated, not by the chance or fortune of war, but deliberately, and its materials sold to Frenchmen, Spaniards, and people nearer home?

However, we search in vain for the clear, uncontaminated history of those dark transactions, in the unbroken series of cause and effect. The English, with all their boasted *freedom of the press*, dare not publish the whole truth respecting their Kings, Queens, and *Princesses*.* The best histories of Rome were not written by natives of "the Eternal City." As it regards England, we pick the truth up here and there from anecdotes, memoirs, daily and

* Whoever wishes to be more particularly informed, let him read the examination of *Dr. Musgrave* at the bar of the House of Commons in 1762, and let him notice the words of *Sir William Blackstone* in the course of that examination, as recorded in the twenty-second chapter, volume first, of the *Anecdotes and Speeches of the Earl of Chatham*, the seventh edition, corrected, London, 1810; which, though anonymous, was evidently published from the first under the sanction of the Pitt and Grenville family, and made, in a manner, the basis of Thackeray's *Life of Lord Chatham*.

weekly publications, such being, in the opinion of the great Lord Somers, the most faithful pictures of "the bent and genius of the age, the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation." Boast not, Englishmen, of your *liberty of the press*, while you have such partial histories as those of Lord Clarendon, David Hume, and the Annual Register, though conducted by Edmund Burke, that very able and intrepid son of liberty.* If you compare the few first-rate British histories and annals with the memoirs of some of their eminent men who had directed them to be buried till thirty years after their decease,—time enough for their children and probably grandchildren to be out of the reach of resentment, you will learn the truth of our assertion. We predict, however, that some bold and persevering

* A very valuable and impartial history of the *American Revolution* was written by the Rev. William Gordon, D. D., an Englishman; who resided about twelve years in Massachusetts, and had access to the best authorities, including that of Washington, Greene, Knox, and Gates, and the journals of Congress and of the Legislatures of the several States. He injudiciously returned to England, there to print his interesting history. He deemed it prudent to submit his manuscript to a gentleman learned in the law, to mark such chapters and passages as might endanger prosecution, when the lawyer returned it with such a large portion expurgated as to reduce about four volumes to three. The author being too aged and too infirm to venture upon a voyage back to America, and too poor withal, he submitted to its publication in a mutilated state; and thus the most just and impartial history of the American war, and of the steps that led to it, on both sides of the Atlantic, was sadly marred, and shamefully mutilated. My authority is from my late venerable friend John Adams, the President of these United States, who perused Gordon's manuscript when he was our Minister at the Court of London, and from my own knowledge, having been shown a considerable portion of the History before the author left this country to die in his own, and having corresponded with him till near the close of his long life.

searcher on that or this side the Atlantic will find pearls, and diamonds, and precious stones in the dirt; and string them together and therewith make a chaplet for the brow of TRUTH. The author of the work we have so often commended says,—“There is such a delicacy prevails in England, greater than in some arbitrary monarchies, concerning the conduct of the Royal Family, that truth of them is usually suppressed until it is forgotten. The justice of history is thereby perverted; and the constitution, in this important point, is literally and efficiently destroyed.” * Even the very bold and prophet-like JUNIUS when he addresses his Sovereign in the firm but honest language of reprehension, does it in the studied style of respect. You see throughout his famous letter, the enthroned King, and the conscientious, presaging Magus of a subject, but void of that indelicate, sacerdotal objurgation used by certain French preachers to their monarchs.

When Lord Chatham resigned, the Earl of Egremont took his place; a nobleman well suited to the views of the Earl of Bute. On the sudden death of Egremont, Lord Bute came in Prime Minister almost of course. When these changes took place, I well remember the unfavorable impression it made respecting the real character of the young monarch in these New England colonies. It excited doubts of his wisdom, and created suspicions of his ultimate views, as Pitt was a personage almost worshipped in America.

When Pitt retired from office he was comparatively poor. But when Bute was finally constrained to

* Anecdotes of Lord Chatham.

retire, he was very rich. The question at that time among the people was,—Where did his riches come from? *PEACE, be still!* Honor and increasing fame followed Chatham; suspicions and bitter execrations accompanied Bute,—whether right or wrong, whether just or unjust, we pretend not to decide. The dark cave of favoritism affords us, distant and inexperienced republicans, but little light. It really does not appear that Lord Bute was a very bad man, with a heart corrupted by the love of money, and intoxicated by the splendors of high station, or that he had a great desire to enrich his children, whom he always kept at a great and chilling distance.

Lord Bute appears to have been a man better fitted by nature, education, and habit for President of the Royal Society than Prime Minister of Great Britain. He had an extraordinary appearance of wisdom in his looks and manner of speaking; whether the subject were serious or trifling, he was equally pompous, slow, and sententious. His delivery in Parliament was so very slow, solemn, and monotonous, that when the brilliant Charles Townsend heard him the first time in the House of Lords, he exclaimed—*MINUTE GUNS!* From all which it may be inferred that the Earl of Bute was one of those characters spoken of by Lord Bacon, who are constantly upon the stretch to make superficies appear solids.*

* It has been said of Lord Bute, that "He was reserved, inward, and darksome. Clandestine without concealment, sad without sorrow, domestic without familiarity, haughty without elevation; nothing

Directly on Lord Bute's being made commissioner of the treasury, in 1762, came out the first number of the *Briton*, written by *Dr. Smollet*, praising his Lordship to the skies, with occasional sarcasms and sly

great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct in public or private life. Reducing every thing to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity. A frigid friend, a mean enemy. Stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so through the poverty of head and heart. Bookish without learning; as insensible and unconvertible on the great subjects of literature, as one deaf and dumb when questioned on a concert of music. A dabbler in the fine arts without grace or taste. A traveller through countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own. In a dull ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he may have from false politics and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his port-folios with penny prints and pretty pictures of colored simples, those gazing-traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry; while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage, ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most *unroyal taste for trifles* where it could not exist, but at the expense of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to it; a circumstance this, that must draw down a ridicule upon his *master*, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government than even fear or hatred. [The readers of the malapert Peter Pindar can best judge of this.] Too unhappily, alas! for this nation, chance had thrown this egregious trifler into a family [that of Frederic, Prince of Wales,] whom his domestic streights had favorably disposed towards him. How he maintained and improved his footing into a pernicious ascendant, is surely beneath curiosity.

"As to the royal pupil, who by a much misplaced confidence, fell under his management at the tender age of susceptibility of all impressions, it was not well possible for him to prevent a deep-rooted partiality for a choice manifestly not made by him, but for him. In raw,

reflections on the late King, and copious abuse of Mr. Pitt. This was soon followed by the celebrated *North Briton*, written by several hands. This sarcastic production attacked not only Lord Bute, but the King's mother, with low abuse of the Scotch as

inexperienced, unguarded youth, practised upon by an insidious study of his inclinations, not to rectify, but to govern him by them ; captivated by an unremitting attention to humor and perpetuate the natural bent of that age to the lighter objects of amusement ; instituted to an implicit faith in the man who littered his head with trifles, and, unable to corrupt his heart, only hardened it like his own against the remonstrances of true greatness, while warping his understanding with the falsest notions of men and things, and especially of maxims of state, of which himself never had so much as an elementary idea ; thus delivered up to such a tutor, how could the disciple possibly escape such a combination ? What of essentially wise or magnanimous could he learn from such a pedlar in politics and manners ? No one can impart what himself never had. Honor, gratitude, dignity of sentiment, energy of sincerity, comprehensiveness of views, were not in him to inculcate. Obstinacy under the stale disguise of firmness, the royalty of repairing wrong by persisting in it, the plausible decencies of private life, the petty moralities, the minutenesses of public arrangements ; the preference of dark juggle, mystery, and low artifice, to the frank, open spirit of government ; the abundant sufficiency of the absence of great vices, to atone for the want of great virtues ; a contempt of reputation, and especially that execrable absurdity in the Sovereign of a free people, the neglect of popularity, were all that the hapless pupil could possibly learn from such a preceptor."—"All prejudice then apart, mark in him, to his Prince a tutor without knowledge, a minister without ability, a favorite without gratitude ; the very anti-genius of politics ; the curse of Scotland ; the disgrace of his master ; the despair of the nation ; and the disdain of history."*

This portrait, painted with Dutch exactness, feature by feature, without the least caricature, explains what long puzzled me, namely, the silence of JUNIUS, and of LORD CHATHAM in regard to BUTE. They doubtless considered him beneath the dignity of history or oratory. Thus animals escape the hunter because they are not worth the powder and shot.

When Lord Bute became Prime Minister, the Scotch, generally, were elated beyond expression. The *Jacobites* all flocked to court,

* See a note in vol. I. chap. xxiv. of *Anecdotes and Speeches of the Earl of Chatham*.

a people. Its fire was so intense and well directed to its object, that it soon demolished the slight works of the *Briton*, whose fierce antagonist held on its way rejoicing until it attained its 45th number, when it was checked by a prosecution. The author of this far-famed number was found to be Colonel John Wilkes, an English gentleman, of a character not easily described nor readily understood by the citizens of our young Republic, as we are yet republicans of the ancient Roman stamp, while the luxurious Englishmen in the blaze of fashion, are Corinthians.

The personages more particularly aggrieved by the satirical North Briton were blinded by a rage which was rather of a feminine than of a masculine character, and which precipitated them into several very serious errors and many consequent mortifications. The first steps in the prosecution of Wilkes were illegal, the subsequent ones imprudent, and the whole procedure, from beginning to end, undignified. This irregular procedure, being exposed and exaggerated by the opposition in their new Parliament, threw the whole country into a flame, and afforded to the whole world (with the exception of these thirteen colonies) an astonishing instance of *the power of the people*, when the executive part of the government oversteps the sacred boundaries of the constitution. Through the medium of the press and the speeches in Parliament, the people were made to understand the question, and they took John Wilkes under their

overjoyed to see a Stuart so near the throne. Previously to forming a Tory administration, the Favorite dismissed that excellent minister Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the greatly esteemed friend of Lord Chatham. JUNIUS speaks of his dismissal in terms of disgust.

protection ; in which, if not applauded, they were not discouraged by characters of the highest rank of subjects. This, taken altogether, at length constituted that sort of adoption which astonished all Europe, and occasioned even the democrats of New England to stare at each other with amazement ; for Wilkes had but little weight of moral character, was not gifted with mental talents of the first class, and was void of the chief powers of oratory. But then his abilities were respectable, his courage undaunted, his perseverance surprising, and his gentlemanlike good-humor exhaustless.

While the people and their leaders were magnifying this favored child of fortune, the populace were taught to believe that the learned Lord Mansfield, who sat at the head of the judiciary, was an officer dangerous from his arbitrary principles and alleged entire subserviency to the crown ; and that his elevated countryman, Lord Bute, was in conspiracy fast destroying the liberties of England. We pretend not—we presume not to weigh such a *vir ponderosus* as William Murray, *Lord MANSFIELD*. I saw the ruins of his habitation, with sorrow and indignation on a second exacerbation of popular delirium, in 1780.

In the year 1768 the capital of the British Empire exhibited a singular spectacle. Our countryman, Dr. Franklin, says of it, in a letter dated London, April 1768, to his son in America, "It is really extraordinary to see an outlaw, an exile,* of bad personal character, not worth a farthing, coming over

* When prosecuted for his libellous No. 45, Wilkes fled to France.

from France, set himself up as a candidate for the capital of the kingdom, miss election only by being too late in his application ; and immediately carry it for the principal county, [Middlesex, which includes London.] The mob, spirited up by numbers of different ballads sung or roared in every street, and requiring gentlemen and ladies of all ranks, as they passed in their carriages, to shout *Wilkes and Liberty* ! marking the same words on all their coaches with chalk, and the number 45 ; and on every door in London, and for more than fifty miles in the country ! ”

In the following month, May 1768, the Doctor again writes,—“ Even this capital, the residence of the King, is now a daily scene of lawless riot and confusion ; mobs patrolling the streets at noonday ; some knocking all down that will not roar out *Wilkes and Liberty* ; courts of justice afraid to give judgment against him ; coal-heavers and porters pulling down the houses of coal-merchants, that refuse to give them more wages ; sailors unrigging all outward bound ships, and suffering none to sail till merchants agreed to raise their pay ; watermen destroying private boats, and threatening bridges, [and this under the guns of the tower ;] soldiers firing among the mobs and killing men, women, and children.”—“ The scenes have been horrible. London was illuminated two nights running at the command of the mob, for the success of Wilkes in the Middlesex election. The second night exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen here. Those who refused to illuminate had their windows destroyed.”

These outrages in London described by Dr. Franklin,* exceeded, far exceeded any riot that ever occurred in these North American Colonies. The destruction of the King's vessel, the *Gaspee*, at Rhode Island in 1772; the wasting the cargoes of *TEA* in Boston harbour, to prevent its landing, and of course obviating an inextricable difficulty, were conducted with regularity, order, stillness, and marks of deliberation, more like the service of a detachment of marines than the acts of a mob. Compare the terrific conflagrations, in what were called Lord George Gordon's mobs, when they destroyed Lord Mansfield's house, library, and manuscripts, with the destruction of the furniture of Governor Hutchinson in Boston, and a few others in America, and we need not blush for our popular character when contrasted with that of the London populace in 1780.†

In those tumultuary times in England, the throne itself was not assailed as in the case of Charles the First, and since in France. The discontent arose

* See his *Memoirs*.

† During the revolutionary period, not a single individual lost life or limb by a mob, nor did any one suffer death in any of the New England Colonies or States for his political sentiments. The ludicrous mob-punishment of *tar and feathers*, so greatly misrepresented, was perpetrated on certain informers against the smugglers, and on them alone; and these by sailors and their associates, all of that class of people. In the midst of high popular excitement, while Boston was a British garrison, a British captain and a guard of his soldiers, on duty at the Custom House, were attacked by a gang of young persons, first with snow-balls and then with bits of ice, when the soldiers fired, and killed and wounded several who were not in the affray. Instead of being instantly massacred, they were tried by a Boston jury, by men who considered the British soldiers as so many locusts sent to destroy them, and acquitted, as acting in self-defence and upon duty. This precious anecdote speaks volumes in the ear of candor.

from a disregard to the English constitution. When the Princess Dowager of Wales came to England, she found the British Sovereign a very different character, and the court of St. James a very different coterie from that in which she had been educated at Saxe-Gotha. She saw that George the Second was controlled by his ministers, and compelled to submit to their opinions on all important subjects. The comparison disgusted her, and she resolved to make the court of her husband, or of her son, should he attain the crown, as near like that of her father as possible. She strove to make the court of London like the miniature court of Saxe-Gotha.

Fool that I was to think imperial ROME
Like Mantua ! *

There was no wish to change the form of the government, nor to encroach on the legal prerogatives of the crown as established at the revolution ; but there was an extreme jealousy and discontent arising from occurrences in the administration of it. The public had been greatly disappointed. They expected more from their young, inexperienced King, than such a man with such an education could possibly perform. Had he been a King John, or a Harry the Eighth, the spirit of the times would have remedied the evil *at once*. But the Third George was a moral man. After the strictest sect of his religion, he lived a Pharisee ; and therefore respectable in the eyes of his two Universities and of the holy catholic church, with a constitutional abhorrence of

* Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem. VIRG.

popery bordering on bigotry. In every thing, even in religion, he was a staunch churchman, stubborn as a rock ; yet, though slow and cold in toleration, he never countenanced persecution.

At the distance of three thousand miles of clear ocean, objects in Britain seem to us, through our *camera obscura*, different from what they appear to those islanders themselves. At the time spoken of, we were a part of the same realm ; a very loyal people, magnifying the good, and feeling none of the evil complained of in England. We felt no great solicitude or interest in the admission, or expulsion of John Wilkes from their parliament. Yet we saw with surprise the change of sentiment respecting the King and his court. If any one will take the pains to read the elaborate accounts of the coronation and the nuptial ceremonies of King George the Third with a German Princess, in the year 1761, and notice the almost adoration expressed of those exalted personages ; and mark with what pride and rapture the minute details of those gorgeous ceremonies were received, relished, and prolonged by the people of London ; and contrast them with the state of affairs, and with the feelings of the same people a few years afterwards, he will perceive an altered state of things, and a great change in the public sentiment, without waiting for us to express it in words. We would only remark, that if we compare the general sentiment of the British nation during the three last years of George the Second, when Pitt was at the helm of state, with that of his grandson, under the management of Lord Bute, we

shall hardly feel surprise that, even in these far distant colonies, the character of the young monarch was shaken and manifestly impaired by the circumstances of the peace. We grieved to see some of the most valuable islands in the West Indies that were conquered from France and Spain, restored to them. We rejoiced with wonder on finding that Canada was retained, while the island of *Cuba*, that Great Britain of the Western world, was given up to the conquered. But the Earl of Chatham was not consulted on the articles of peace; and they who made it, considered only their present advantage.

If very many people in England have confounded *John Wilkes*, with *his cause*, it is no great wonder that we in America have not always separated them. It comports with our design to speak in a cursory manner of both in this place; and more particularly hereafter. He was a man who had not quite moral character enough to excite great esteem and respect, yet sufficient talent and education, honor and manners, to make him an object of fear and great force in the hands of the powerful whig-party which upheld him. His was that mixed and middle character which civil revolutions call for. In that tumultuary condition of affairs, in the early part of the reign of George the Third, John Wilkes was made the principal figure. There is yet another reason for introducing him to our readers, I mean the intercourse between him and the *great UNKNOWN*, the terrific JUNIUS, who wrote to him several private letters, which I myself consider equal to any thing that has fallen from the pen of JUNIUS;—not in polish or in the flowers of

rhetoric, but in depth of thought, knowledge of the human heart, and wonderful tact in the management of a froward character, which we believe did not appertain to any *two* men of that day. We shall speak of this political meteor hereafter, and occasionally ; and shall only remark now, that the sagacious JUNIUS enlisted him into his service. He considered him the very man whom the able and intrepid band of whigs needed to co-operate with them in exorcizing the evil spirit behind the throne. To cover the here and there dark spots in the private, rakish character of the spirited Wilkes, they conspired with the times to inflate him to a size and shape that was frightful to the court, astonishing to the world, and must have been, now and then, laughable to himself. The English people, who, in point of national character, stand between the French and the Dutch, were taught to believe, that John Wilkes was the devoted and sworn champion of their dearest rights and privileges ; that he and they would sink or swim together ; and that he was prosecuted and then persecuted by the crown, in a great measure, on their account. They were wrought up to a firm belief that their danger originated from the remaining foreign leaven of the Leicester-House secret and irresponsible cabinet, then fermenting in the new court of their inexperienced and deluded King. Under these impressions and apprehensions, their resentment became terrible, and produced the riots we have already mentioned. The storm which "the dæmon of discord" had raised to drown this idol of the people failed to overwhelm him. He

floated conspicuously on the top of every wave, while the monarch, his family, and "his friends" felt the appalling force of the reflux one. Nor was this the sole cause of the commotion. The thundering voice from the press commenced its re-action; and had that champion of the malcontents possessed a private and social character as pure as that of Mr. Pitt, or Sir George Saville, he and his cause combined might have gone far towards driving the *native* King, in disgust, to his electoral dominions. But Wilkes was of a strangely mixed character. If he somewhat resembled Richardson's *Lovelace*, his conduct, now and then, brings to our recollection the Roman *Regulus*. He could feel, think, and act like a Spartan general and, on the same day, like a rake. He delighted to walk the streets of London in full dress, and loved dearly greetings in the market-place. Thus he united greatness of mind with a pitiful vanity.* With the most insinuating address and assenting manners and speech, he united inflexible bravery. Being a man of pleasure without fortune to support it, he panted to rise above his station, and resolved to make, some way or other, a conspicuous figure; and he succeeded, to admiration.

Mr. Wilkes had very favorable opportunities for an excellent education, first in London, and afterwards at LEYDEN, then in greater reputation among

* I had some personal knowledge of this champion of the people's rights, having had letters of introduction to him in the year 1775, when he was Lord Mayor of London. I went directly from Dr. Fothergill's in Harpur Street to wait on his Lordship at the City Mansion-House. What a contrast,—the *simplex munditiis* of the one, and the *peacockism* of the other!

the Whigs than either Oxford or Cambridge, and distinguished also about this time, as the scene of education of the Honorable Charles Townsend, the Duke of Richmond, Akenside, Dyson, and one of the sons of Lord Bute, and several Russian and German Princes. If in after life, as a man, he trod in the impure and dangerous paths of pleasure with associates beneath him, he entertained and heartily relished sound constitutional principles as an Englishman, which he maintained in a stern spirit of patriotism equal, at times, to that of John Hampden. He appeared an able writer, except when the productions of his pen happened to be placed by the side of those of his friend JUNIUS, who spoke of Mr. Wilkes to his Sovereign in the words following.

“Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own?”

“A man, not very honorably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favorite [*Lord BUTE*], considering nothing but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by a peculiar character, as by your Majesty’s favor. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the land of plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism; those of the other, in devotion. Mr. Wilkes

brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments by which his private conduct had been directed, and seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them. I mean to state, not entirely to defend, his conduct. In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him. He said more than moderate men would justify ; but not enough to entitle him to the honor of your Majesty's personal resentment. The rays of Royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favor of the people on one side, and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first, he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause, for which we suffer. Is this a contention worthy of a King ? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed ? The destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object of your government ; and if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object, the utmost influence of the executive power, and

every ministerial artifice, exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless *he* should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown, or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons *he* has received from experience, will probably guard him from such excess of folly ; and in your Majesty's virtues we find an unquestionable assurance that no illegal violence will be attempted."—"Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they [the ministers] have judiciously transferred the question, from the rights and interests of *one man*, to the most important rights and interests of *the people*, and forced your subjects, from wishing well to the *cause* of an individual, to unite with him in *their own*." *

I can by no comment add weight to the passage here cited. The whole address is momentous and solemn. It comes like a heavy body falling from a great height. What is there in the royal mind that hardens the heart against impressions from on high? Moses and Aaron, though commissioned by Heaven, could not correct its errors by *words*. Judgments and plagues were the only remedies. Compare the whole *Letter of JUNIUS* to the King with what occasionally fell from Lord Chatham in Parliament when speaking on the various subjects of it, and you will perceive a unity of thought, an unani-

* JUNIUS's Address to the KING, 19 December, 1769.

mousness of opinion, much more to be regarded than the sameness of phraseology.

We have seen England's wisest men discarded ; and ignorance and presumption take their places, in men notoriously incompetent to their stations. That ship must be in danger which attempts the wide and trackless ocean in the darkness of night and in a gathering storm, with inexperienced officers and crew.

What increased the embarrassments of the King and his new servants, was the discontented state of these *North American Colonies*. They could not but see dark and rolling clouds in the *West* forboding a storm, engendered by a rash attempt to tax *unrepresented* subjects at three thousand miles' distance. Although George the Third had then an able and honest minister, *George Grenville*, he soon found that he must retrace his steps. JUNIUS tells the tale, in a very few words, and in his masterly manner, thus, —“Under one administration the *stamp-act* is made ; under the second it is repealed ; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived which *ought to have been buried in oblivion.*” *

At this time the experienced pilot, Chatham, had retired to a distance from the capital, grievously tormented with gout, complicated with “*nervous*” disorder. He seemed sinking under a heavy load of disease, and suffering morbid and mental affliction, as is always the case in hypochondriacal maladies. According to his enemies, it arose from feeling him-

* See the First Letter of JUNIUS, dated the 21st of January, 1769.

self neglected, and the government going on without his advice or assistance. But this is judging a very great man by a vulgar standard. Lord CHATHAM had arrived at a climacterical period of human life, noted as critical from the earliest records of medicine, an alteration in the human body, depending on its laws of *incrementum* and *decrementum*, rather than a Pythagorean theory of the mystical number seven. This trying period in the life of man, when the grasshopper is a burden and desire fails, with his gouty diathesis, accounts sufficiently for his deplorable state of health; not but that it may have been aggravated by seeing the magnificent pyramid of his fame dilapidated by ignoble hands. A man is often cheerful under the loss of his arms or his legs, and habit frequently renders a deranged condition of health tolerable; but a wounded spirit who can bear? To some very high-minded men, abuse, and even bitter persecution, are more tolerable than neglect. So situated, an ancient Roman would have destroyed himself, and a modern one, others; a condition which a truly great man, and a Christian, would patiently bear under to the destined end; as did CHATHAM then, and NAPOLEON since.

In the year 1768, our great statesman resigned the only post he had retained, that of privy-seal. It was remarkable, that on this occasion he did not go to court, as is usual, but sent the seals to his Majesty by his intimate and revered friend *Lord CAMDEN*. The retired minister's disgust was too manifest, and his resentment too strong to be *for ever* concealed. He felt, as he declared in the House of Lords, that

he had been deceived and duped from a very high source under the guise of particular kindness and marked personal respect. He himself constitutionally and rationally honest, abhorred deceit and hypocrisy. In former ages, and in absolutely despotic governments such a powerful man as Pitt, Earl of Chatham, a minister whose transcendent abilities overshadowed Majesty itself, would have been cut off by some violent death, while the monarch was surrounded by innumerable guards.

In the tragedy of empires, BRITAIN—"that precious stone set in the silver sea"*—exhibited to surrounding nations, and to the eye of philosophy, at the close of the eighteenth century, a rare spectacle in her King, his ministers, and his people.† The last scene in this grand drama is to be acted in this new world,

"Where shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire, and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

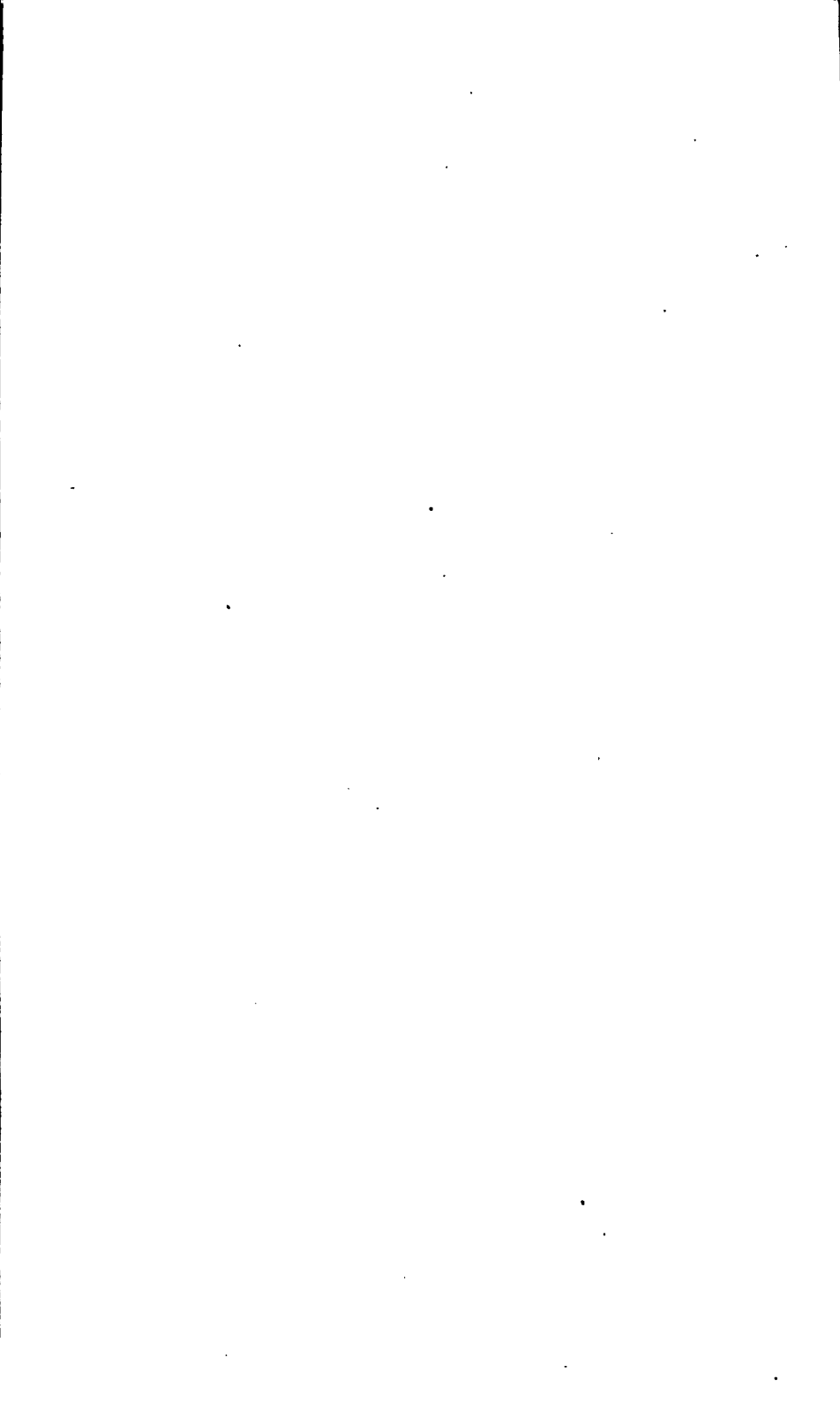
"Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay
By future poets shall be sung.

* Shakspeare.

† Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris in 1796 to offer peace, and it was refused. The following year he returned a second time unsuccessful. George the Third was in 1795 and 1796 dangerously assaulted in his state coach with stones on his way to the parliament house. Soon after there was mutiny throughout the British fleet, and a very alarming rebellion in Ireland. During this state of affairs Bonaparte was carrying his victories over Europe with the rapidity of a torrent, and threatening England with invasion, while the Sovereign suffered a relapse of his insanity, which continued to the close of his long life.

" *Westward* the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
The fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last." *

* DEAN BERKELEY, afterwards *Bishop of Cloyne*. This eminent philosopher, good man, and venerable prelate came to America about 1723, with the hope of establishing a college for the education of our aboriginal Indians. He resided several years on Rhode Island, and tradition says, he there wrote his "*Minute Philosopher*." One of my parents, who died at 90 years of age, remembered him distinctly. Another aged person had heard him preach a charity sermon in *Boston*, and described minutely to me his athletic person. He gave his library, his farm, and mansion, called *Whitehall*, to the Connecticut College, established at New Haven.



CONCERNING

JUNIUS AND HIS LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST IMPRESSION MADE BY JUNIUS'S LETTERS IN OLD ENGLAND, AND IN NEW.—THE FIRST QUESTION, WHO IS JUNIUS?—SUSPICION FELL ON THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.—ARGUMENTS AGAINST THAT SUPPOSITION.—AN EPISODE.

BEHOLD then the illustrious CHATHAM, retired, filled with disgust and resentment, yet silent. Was this an absolute retirement from all public cares into the quiet of domestic repose? By no means. The perturbed spirit cannot rest.

“O polish'd perturbation! golden care!
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide
To many a watchful night!”*

In less than a year after Lord Chatham withdrew from office, as well as from Parliament, JUNIUS burst forth the champion of the rights of Englishmen, and the stern vindicator of the principles of the constitution.

These epistles broke upon the public ear like thunder, at a time, and under circumstances, which gave them remarkable force on a discontented nation. I say *nation*, for these Ameri-

* Shakspeare.

can colonies, which then made a part of it, had become, like the Britons, uneasy from the encroachments on their rights, privileges, and English feelings, since the second year after the accession of King George the Third.

Of these letters of JUNIUS, the first appeared on the 21st of January, 1769. In a loud, clear, and very powerful voice, they called forth those dormant feelings, which once constituted the pride and glory of old England; but which, like the *Ens vegetabile* in the chilling season of winter, had descended from the branches into the roots of the English oak, possibly never to bud again, had not a happy transplantation of its suckers to this congenial soil, encouraged and secured their growth for ever. These animating addresses were sought after with avidity in New England, and perused and re-perused with eagerness. That their orthodoxy, and the spirit of their sentiments and style, should be relished here, will surprise no one, who recollects that our forefathers were actuated by the same sentiments and temper when constrained to quit their native land in search of civil and religious freedom. These celebrated compositions were congenial to our clarified puritanism, the celestial spark of which had glimmered, now and then, in the parliament of England even in the reign of the arbitrary Virgin Queen; while she tried in vain to smother it.

In 1769 a peculiar heroic opinion prevailed in London. It was not exactly the same with us as with our elder brethren in England. There the animating principle was just roused from its slumber by the loud and commanding voice of JUNIUS *Brutus*; who appeared bearing a lighted torch in one hand, to show the people their hazardous situation while sleeping in the dark; and in the other, a dagger to defend Liberty in her disputed march through an host of enemies, in a land overlaid by frivolity and corruption. If we "in these ends of the earth" were not then quite awake, our slumbers were often disturbed with dreaming of British encroachments, especially after our favorite Pitt had retired from office, and obscured his bright name in that of Chatham.

It is said that we of New England are characterized by a remarkably inquisitive spirit. If curiosity be a sign of a vigorous intellect, few people have a greater share of it than the native white men of this self-governing region. I can remember, sixty years ago, that the great question agitated, and eagerly discussed, was,—*Who is this JUNIUS?* this intrepid and very able man, who attacks thus boldly the highest official characters in the realm,—the high and mighty of our glorious nation,—the chiefs of the law,—the selected counselors of the crown,—the army itself, and the rich and compact phalanx of British aristocracy and nobility; nor stops there, but audaciously attacks the Sovereign himself, the personified majesty of the whole nation, and draws him forth before his whole people from the dark recesses of his palace into open day, to answer for his conduct? To what rank, class, or degree must this *lonely* man belong, who thus sternly and sarcastically upbraids, in a voice of dignified authority, steady and unfaltering, the ministers and favorites of the King,—the head of the judiciary,—the sword-bearers of the law,—and the representatives of the people; accusing them of violating the principles of the constitution, of lack of wisdom and knowledge, and of misleading a young and inexperienced monarch to the nation's ruin?

From between 1769 and 1774, the authorship of JUNIUS was a topic of almost daily conjecture among the sons of the Pilgrims. The puzzle seemed to be, who, among the great men of England (for *great* he must be) thus daunts, with his castigating pen and imposing manner, the whole body of law-makers and law-expounders; nay, the army, the church, and its nominal head, exhibiting him, who is, theoretically, too exalted to do wrong, as another Belshazzar before a second Daniel? From that time to this period, a space of sixty years, conjecture has been wearied in guessing who that well-informed and polished writer,—that steady, uniform, unflinching, powerful, and fearless man could be, who, rising all at

once, shook all that could be shaken, that political *Jupiter*, who but nodded,

———"et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum."

Suspicion fell upon *Edmund Burke*, not merely on account of his superior powers in debate, and masterly pen; but also from his station, and great influence in the Rockingham party, that noble band of honorable whigs, so justly celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic. It would be a tax upon patience to recount and dwell on the names of other men, who have each, at different times, been imagined the author of the Letters in question, even down to *General Charles Lee*,* well known in this country for mediocrity of powers as a soldier and a politician. The search has been too superficial; and the inquiry confined rather to brilliant scholars than profound statesmen. It seems to have been chiefly this,—Who among the British politicians had studied English composition so successfully as to be capable of writing such true and polished examples of it? The error seems to have been, that instead of the *soul* of JUNIUS, they regarded only his *pen*; as if they expected to see an Oliver Goldsmith yoked with a Nicholas Machiavel, ploughing together the same field. Instead of the *mind* of Raphael, discernible in his compositions and expression, they have stopped short to scrutinize and dispute about his coloring.

Mr. Burke stood a fair candidate for the honor; being a staunch whig, an able speaker, and a fine writer. With a capacious and versatile understanding, he resembled a mountain torrent, increased by ceaseless streams, impregnated with every earthly and ærial thing, rich, fragrant, wholesome, and otherwise, running free, clear, rapid, and sonorous; sometimes turbid, and now and then offensive; but not marked with the undeviating dignity, resistless force and grandeur of JUNIUS,

* Lee was to General Washington what Lord George Sackville was to Prince Ferdinand.

who is like a burning wave of volcanic source, its origin in deeply hidden caverns, beyond the strata of gold and glittering gems, in the awful region of earthquakes, "the dark, unfathomed, infinite abyss." *

Had the facts contained in the Letters of JUNIUS been all spread before Mr. Burke, he might, by his taste and patient attention, have expressed them to the understanding with equal elegance if not force ; but the original *feeling*, the symptoms of a febrile excitement, the rage, the *provocation*, the inducement, the fire in the embers, perceptible in JUNIUS, and all that which art and genius could not have supplied, would have been wanting. Could a man, writing for fame, for money, or high station, speak like that terrific being behind the curtain ? Besides, what extraordinary provocation had Edmund Burke to speak daggers in 1769, '70, '71, and '72 ? He lived and moved under the patronage of the Marquis of Rockingham, and of that small, but condensed phalanx of intrepid whigs, in which, for a series of years, he carried a pair of colors, and sometimes appeared to exercise a higher command. Add to this, Burke could hardly have been acquainted with the *arcana secretissima* of the court of England, and of some other courts, with which it is evident JUNIUS was familiar, and with that of England even to a personal knowledge of regal affairs, and even all the domestic circumstances of royalty ; which appears from his treating the most imposing part of the garb of government with the steady composure of a veteran, grown grey and weary in its gaudy service. Mr. Burke held up exquisite and highly wrought small pictures of East Indian anecdotes, calculated to excite horror and indignation. He frightens you with his lively paintings, executed with Dutch exactness, of the rage, rags, dirt, blood, and splendor of distracted France ; and, for a moment, we feel the theatrical effect. The sphere of his vision, however, never extended to American greatness. He never saw this vast country

* Milton.

with the optics of Lord Chatham. Hence he sighed not over the departing greatness of Britain, when she pressed us to draw the defensive sword, as did that prophetic statesman. This passionate, warm-hearted, and brilliant son of Ireland, only raved, stamped, swore, and cried at the momentary delirium of disordered France. He saw not its final salutiferous effects.

To compare sculptors and painters with orators and political writers, may we not say that Burke was an admirable painter of the Venetian school; that he was to Lord Chatham and to JUNIUS, what Tintoret was to Michael Angelo and Titian? Chatham and Angelo were original masters; Burke and Tintoret, admirably apt and most excellent scholars. "I follow," said this charming, rapid, and various painter, (Tintoret painted without previous sketch or study,) "I follow Michael Angelo for my designs, and Titian for my coloring." Whom did Angelo follow? Whom did Chatham imitate? They followed only the grand, beautiful, and forcible of nature. There is internal evidence of self-derivation in JUNIUS, as clearly so as of originality in Chatham.

I mistake the character of Edmund Burke, luxuriant as was his genius and exuberant his fancy, if he could sustain the dignified deportment of indignant Junius for three years together without once betraying the Irish brogue, or the smell of whiskey. Burke seemed to be excited by the hectic fever of genius, and, at times, by its delirium. Furthermore, I consider the correspondence, carried on with an individual printer, during at least three years, under a mask, which the most prying curiosity was unable to penetrate, as one of the most extraordinary facts in history; and to my view bordering on the wonderful. All which I regard as beyond the powers and the means of Mr. Burke.

It may be said,—Why dwell on the question of Mr. Burke, seeing he positively and repeatedly denied that he was the author of the Letters in question, as many had guessed? We answer, that the situation and circumstances of the author,

whoever he may be, are such as to set all asseverations at naught ; on which we shall speak more distinctly hereafter.

This question may be well asked by a British reader,—Who and what are you, who thus undertake to determine the most important secret of our times ? you, born and dwelling in a far-distant region from us, where, a little over two hundred years ago, an English word had never been uttered ; a country absolutely unknown four hundred years since ; a region, nay, a quarter of the globe, of which the ancients had no knowledge, not even a tradition of its existence. Is it likely that an inhabitant of such a new-found land can untie a knot after all our efforts have failed ? The punishment to be inflicted for such an untoward question, shall be

AN EPISODE.

The land in which we dwell, these *United States of North America*, is, perhaps, the spot on the globe best adapted for a political *camera obscura*,* whence to view the stationary and the moving scenery of Europe. The distance favors it, and our position, New England, is well calculated for contemplating the interesting planet Great Britain, the Saturn in the European system, with its wondrous ring, its floating fortifications, and golden commerce. The wide space between is not unfavorable to this notion, seeing distance in space operates like distance of time.

The earliest settlement of New England was made by transplanted Englishmen ; a courageous band, animated by religious zeal, of more than ordinary enterprise and education, several of their leaders being sons of Oxford and of Cambridge.

* A *camera obscura* is a sort of artificial eye, or optical machine, so constructed that the images of external objects are distinctly and correctly represented in their true perspective light and shade, their proper colors, and with all their motions.

An unmixed population, unaltered language, and general acquaintance with English history, set off with a steady perusal of the holy Scriptures, have ever since enabled us to consider deliberately our own situation and powers, as well as the characteristical temper and most striking features of the British people, their noble struggles for rational freedom, their rebellions, their revolutions, their numerous wars, their eminent men, their boasted constitution of government, their general literature, and their individual examples of brilliant genius. While we view these things with admiration, smaller matters and little defects are lost, like the voice of their local combatants in the silent space between us. In such remoteness, temporary contentions, adventitious circumstantialities, hard words, jealousies, and fears among rivals are spent in the intervening air, and happily lost to our senses. A situation this, best adapted to impartial history; and it is the position which a writer should wish to occupy when surveying the condition and movements of a kindred nation; as proximity is unfavorable to dignified history.

Our situation and circumstances as a free and inquisitive people, violently split off from a great naval and commercial nation at three thousand miles' distance, yet reading the same books, writing the same language, exercised in the same system of a protestant education, listening to the same dramas, following in dress and manners the same fashions, pathetically affected by similar *idiosyncrasies* and superstitions, evinced by our diseases and by our delight in Shakspeare, would, it seems, constitute us a people thoroughly British in our notions, prejudices, sympathies, antipathies, admirations, and theological theories. The famous Prince and Bishop *Talleyrand*, on his return to France from America, reported to the French Academy or National Institute, that we were, to all intents, English. But this very able man and profound politician did not remain here long enough to characterize us exactly. In our churches, in the resorts of merchants, in our theatrical exhibitions, on board our ships, in the structure and furniture of our houses,

and in our very numerous gay shops, we seem, to the eye of a transient visiter, a people merely English ; and perhaps so to the understanding of the sojourner, who may remark, that whenever we utter the conceptions of our minds, they are clothed in the same language, literal and figurative ; yet are we, after all, a somewhat different people from the English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, or French. The current of our thoughts, and the direction of our views, are variant from them all. We have no hereditary chief magistrate, nor royal family, nor that *imperium in imperio*, a court, with its perplexing, and, in some respects, ridiculous appendages. We bend the knee to no earthly fountain of honor ; and those glistening rills of it, so precious in the eyes of the British, reach us not, but are lost in the intervening ocean ; their sources or head-springs, which are objects of a species of worship in Europe, are little regarded here. Heraldry, so sedulously studied in the land of our forefathers, is here an unknown science, and its terms hardly intelligible. Hence it is we cannot call a poor old man, *His Holiness*, or any man whatever, *His Sacred Majesty*. We educate our children to venerate old age, and to look through the halo of etiquette to the man himself ; and we point them to the New Testament, and teach them to compare the high-sounding titles of the transatlantic priesthood with the lives and doctrines of the disciples of the immaculate Founder of our Holy Religion.

Nevertheless our government is not absolutely democratical, seeing we have, in a qualified sense, a King, Lords, and House of Commons, in our federal as well as state governments, only they are elective for one or more years, while the people, when they choose to speak or act, are SOVEREIGN ; our laws are made, established, and enforced by the concurrence of all the three branches, as in England ; and our judiciary is a close imitation of the English. The theory of all this may be expressed in one word, general *consent*. Alike as we are in the forms, the *perspicax oculus* may discern a difference between the people of Old England and of New. In the first,

there is more of prejudice and acquiescence in authority, an obsequiousness rather than a consent. It is this sort of adopted government, and an education of youth in which corporal correction is almost entirely excluded and considered ignominious, and our singular situation on the terraqueous globe, which have turned the stream of our thoughts into channels and eddies variant from those of the British, or of any other nation upon earth, and directed our views to objects, in some measure, peculiar to ourselves. But the Briton who is only acquainted with our merchants, seamen, and journal-compilers, would form a different judgment.

Never having bowed the knee to the conqueror's sword or the monarch's sceptre, we, like the brave sons of nature in our forests, regard and honor the superior powers of the mind if joined with heroic deeds; but pay little attention to the adventitious garb with which accident or blind fortune may have clothed men. Hence an American calls the chief magistrate or elective monarch of his nation by the simple name given him at his birth.

Such a people enjoying almost Indian freedom may have a lively relish for the best portions of Grecian and Roman history, while the early British annals shall not make the same impression on their minds as is generally made upon the prejudiced, I had almost said bigoted minds of the inhabitants of that renowned island whence we in New England principally sprang. When we cast our eyes over the hazy and indistinct landscape which Old England exhibits from the days of King Alfred down to the time of those "iron barons," who, in rusty armour, eternized the name of their effigy of a king by compelling him to sign their *Magna Charta*, we find less to detain the mind than if we were natives of England and subjects of her king. What are the castle-building, bow-and-arrow epochs of the island of Britain to us, when Kings sought security behind thick walls of stone and mounds of earth, and behind ditches and draw-bridges, while their soldiery were cased up in iron and brass; when the morals of the men, and of the women also, were

thought insecure outside the walls of monasteries and nunneries? Millions of people in these new states never saw a castle, a monastery, or a crowned king.* We run rapidly over, with little interest, that portion of English history when fighting and devotion divided the world. What deep interest can we feel in the Duke of Normandy, so famed in British heraldry as the fountain of their honor?—a French adventurer, a sort of land-pirate, who destroyed six and thirty churches to make more room for hunting, and who punished with the loss of eyes whoever of his subjects killed a stag or a wild boar. Yet is this ruffian king, called by way of eminence “the Conqueror,” acknowledged the rightful and glorious Sovereign of a people who have, with glaring inconsistency, called *Napoleon* an usurper,—him who received his imperial crown from a large majority of Frenchmen in the free election of an affectionate and admiring people, and that not by right of conquest, but was declared “*the Lord’s anointed*,” according to the solemn rites of both the Gallican and Anglican churches. We Americans see all these things through optics of our own; and do not always use the sterling steelyard of our ancestors when we weigh these great personages.

No vestiges of the delirious crusaders are to be seen in this New World, nor any thing to call to mind those unsettled times when all Christendom united, for the first time, to destroy the believers in Mahomet, the most numerous sect upon earth, and to recover from them “the holy land,” the scene of the life and sufferings of our Saviour: a mere pretext, the reality being to prevent the destruction of every government in Europe that would not bow in adoration of the crescent instead of the cross,—when English kings quitted their thrones to visit popes and miserable shrines, and roam in foreign lands

* On the banks of the Delaware now resides *Joseph Bonaparte*, the quondam king of Spain, greatly esteemed and respected by his neighbours; a man of whom Napoleon said that “*he was too good to be a King.*”

in search of the kingdom of heaven, while the most erudite spent their lives in searching for the living among the dead. Except to the mere antiquarian, and the learned law-counsellor, there is very little of the English history that is interesting to us before we come to the period of *Henry the Eighth*, and that chiefly because it is connected with his more meritorious contemporaries on the thrones of France, Germany, and Turkey.*

ELIZABETH indeed calls forth curiosity, as her history has in it that which rivets attention, because the latter part of her brilliant reign is a portion of our own earliest history. It was owing to that great woman's love of finery,† gorgeous parades, sacerdotal pomp, and solemn nonsense, that the wilderness of North America was peopled by an heroic race of Puritans, who ultimately divided one half of the British empire from the other.‡ Such an emigration or expatriation is not to be found on the records of mankind. The exodus of the Jews from Egypt to the land of plenty, of the Trojans from Greece to Latium, of the Goths to Italy, of the Spaniards to South America in search of gold and silver, shrink to nothing in point of heroic enterprise, when compared with the embarkation of men of the middle rank of life, with their wives and children, to go they knew not whither, to meet they knew not what or whom, their object to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. Matchless Heroism ! “ They left their native land,” says JUNIUS, “ in search of freedom, and found it in a desert.”§ A country settled by such a people, encouraged to it by such motives, will breed a race who will think for themselves, govern themselves, and worship the only One, Infinite, Self-existing Being in their own way.

* Francis the First, Emperor Charles the Fifth, and Solyman the Magnificent.

† David Hume expresses the like idea.

‡ See the first Letter of JUNIUS.

§ Letter to the KING.

Elizabeth was assuredly a powerful and extraordinary woman ; but the splendor and felicities of her reign have not so dazzled our eyes as to prevent us from seeing the weak parts of her character, and the slavish cast of her servile Parliament,* in which, however, happily lurked a small spark of Puritanism, enough to enlighten this country at the beginning, and from a small matter to make us what we are.

Very many people of Great Britain, and not a few of the British historians, in giving the character of "the Virgin Queen," dwell too much upon her treatment of the beautiful and imprudent *Mary Queen of Scots*, whom she was constrained to keep in considerate confinement many years. They rest the natural character of Elizabeth almost entirely upon her *putative* envy of the personal charms so largely shared by Mary and so scantily given to Elizabeth. Something may possibly be attributed to a sexual characteristic, but nothing like what has been made of it. It is a superficial view of a regal character, and beneath the dignity of a national history. What is the beauty of queens to any one but the poet, the painter, and that corruptor of chaste history, the novelist, though tricked out by the fanciful pen of a Burke? I have seen his wonderful Austrian Princess, at the height of her personal splendor and happiness, as *Queen of France*, without absolute fascination,—without being dazzled by the sight into undiscerning amazement ; and am persuaded that I could have gazed with admiration on the more beautiful and accomplished Mary without forgetting entirely her lineage, her family connexions, and her Jesuitical education. I believe there is in animated nature a good breed and a bad breed, even in the human species, as well as in animals beneath us. Mary Queen of Scots was a *Guise*, niece to the famous Duke of that name, and to the *Cardinal Lorraine*. She was educated under them, and under *Catharine de Medicis*, three as pernicious characters as any in history. From these detestable sources she imbibed her li-

* Hume says, that the Parliament in 1601 made little distinction between Queen Elizabeth and the Deity.

centious manners and loose principles, and anti-Anglican notions of religion and government ; and she transmitted to her posterity a deep tinge of all their corruptions. Her conduct during her confinement in the north of England, particularly her correspondence with certain persons on the continent, was such as to induce the Parliament to request the Queen, more than once, to order her execution. They doubtless saw that the question then was,—Who shall wear the crown of England, Mary or Elizabeth? After a great struggle, Elizabeth at length was brought, as the Sovereign, to consent to the death of her unhappy relation. In this she acted like a great, just, and wise chief magistrate. When she was informed that Mary was beheaded, she wept, raved, and in her frantic fits accused herself and every one about her. In this she acted like a woman ; and when she abused and punished the agent she employed in transmitting the fatal warrant, pretending she had been deceived and betrayed into the bloody measure, she acted like a fool. In such a distressful case what can we say, but—Alas ! poor human nature ! Such was the glorious Queen Elizabeth, with better and more humane feelings than those which marked and disgraced Mary and Catharine.

“ If to her share some human frailties fall,
View the whole QUEEN, and you ’ll forget them all.”

- In this vast region of free thought and frank expression of it, we can utter our feelings of commiseration for the ill-educated and deluded King Charles the First ; and vociferate our disapprobation of the worst of all the Stuart race, his son. Nay, further. We dare weigh *Oliver Cromwell* himself in the scales of even-handed justice, and freely and fearlessly compare him with other British kings or conquerors, and declare aloud our opinions of them as men, soldiers, politicians, and Christians. Mr. Hume, in his systematic history of England, after giving a pretty candid account of the actions of Cromwell, sums up his character, and gives a portrait of him, which his own narrative contradicts. Sir Walter Scott has done just so in

his history and character of Napoleon. But we have no king, queen, heir apparent or presumptive, to gratify and flatter by "telling their fortunes." Instead of that cruel abuse and unfair treatment, we only hold up to our magistrates the scripture doctrine of retributive justice, the simple principle of *Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.*

Being an independent people, and separated from the old world by a thousand leagues of ocean, we endeavour to think down our early prejudices, and correct in ourselves the errors of the people we originally sprang from, by comparing them with other nations.

We colonists were taught from our infancy to believe, that the people of England were the most magnanimous, brave, and *humane* race of men upon earth, and in every thing superior to the French except fiddling, dancing, and fencing. The only specimens of Frenchmen we had opportunity of seeing were mercantile men, born in the West India islands, and their appearance tended to confirm our ridiculous ideas of the difference in men who fed on *la soupe maigre*, and the substantial *roast-beef of Old England*; so that when we in these colonies were children in British leading-strings, we spake as children on national character, we understood as children, we thought as children; but when we became men in 1776, we put away most of our childish notions. Thus, when a French army with General *Rochambeau* at their head came to this country, and put themselves under the command of *Washington*, we could see, compare, and judge for ourselves. We admired their athletic men, bordering on the gigantic, and noticed with surprise that one Frenchman generally ate as much as two Englishmen, and drank much less; and found them a more civil and better behaved people. But above all we were delighted with their parental or patriarchal government of their soldiery, exhibiting a striking contrast between the management of their men, and the severe, nay cruel discipline of the British and German troops. In one army no drunkenness was to be seen; in the other, sobriety could hardly

be maintained without the degrading lash. There was so little of corporal punishment in the French camp compared with the British and Germans, that the inhabitants of Rhode Island, at last, suspected that their "good and great allies" punished their soldiers privately; but the real fact was, the French captain treated his men as his children, and addressed them as such, while the British and the Germans treated their rank and file more like slaves.*

It is a very serious fact worthy the attention of that transatlantic power whom it most concerns, that the shocking and incessant whippings in the British garrisons in America, and particularly in that of Boston, long before the battle of Bunker Hill, tended more to reconcile even the tories, royalists, or "the King's friends," to a separation from the mother country than any other circumstance before that memorable battle. The native inhabitants of both parties considered it treating white-men as badly as they conceived slave-holders treated negroes. They revolted at the idea of their children being thus dealt with hereafter by commissioned officers, authorized by the King to keep them in subjection. Some have said that England lost the affection of the colonists by neglecting entirely the study of the human heart; and there is more truth in the remark than ever the executive and legislative branches of the British government conceived.

Whatever faults may yet remain in us uncorrected, cruelty and inhumanity belong not to the American character. The opposite character is conspicuous throughout the war of independence, and the glorious war for sailors' rights against impress-

* Among the Germans corporal punishment was extended beyond the rank and file. It was the duty of two young surgeons to remain all night in the military hospital at Newport, Rhode Island, where were some very sick. The superior officer of the German medical staff went to the hospital in the evening, and discovered that the two mates were gone to a dance. For this desertion from their duty he caused them to be tied *neck and heels*; and they suffered under the beastly punishment during one hour. Had this been done in the American or British army, it would have cost the Physician General his brains.

ment by a *foreign* power.* Whigs and tories equally abhorred the cruel whippings of soldiers for intoxication and sleepiness, or even for desertion. The inhabitants of Boston hated the very name and sight of a British soldier, and actually drove two regiments out of their city to take shelter at Castle William on an island five miles from the town, before any absolute or regular hostility commenced. Yet their feelings revolted at seeing young men, some who had hardly attained the full growth of men, stripped to their skins, in winter, and tied to a post, and, in that immovable posture, several men made to inflict upon each of them 500 lashes with knotted cords, nine in number, making 4,500 stripes on the tender and very sensitive skin of a human being. The agony of the sufferers is beyond the power of expression by words, and under it they frequently die. This is no exaggeration. I assert it from medical authority, and repeat it from the highest authority, namely, JUNIUS, who subjoins in a note to that portion of his celebrated Letter to his Sovereign, where he mentions the army, the words following : —“ So much for the officers. The private men have four pence a day to subsist on, and FIVE HUNDRED LASHES if they desert. *Under this punishment they frequently expire.*”

Such a practice is a disgrace to any government upon earth, and an abomination to that one which is ever boasting of its characteristic humanity. Take a dog or a horse and carefully divest him of his hair, that is, his clothing, bind him fast to a post and then set half a dozen men, for less would be tired out, to inflict upon him from 500 to 1000 lashes, and I question whether the inhabitants of any city, unless it had a very numerous and overwhelming British or German garrison, would remain quiet while such cruelty was carrying into execution. Yet is this degree of barbarity perpetrated on a human being endowed with the keenest bodily and the highest mental sensibility of any animal in the scale of sublunary beings, and that by

* I say *foreign* power ; being convinced that it is right, fair, and just to compel our *own* seamen to enter our *own* ships of war, when any sudden emergency shall threaten the vital interests of commerce or the country's safety.

a nation addicted to prate everlastingly of their humane disposition as one of their most amiable traits of character. An Englishman is not so apt to stab to the heart in a sudden gust of passion, in a violent fit of rage, or the madness of jealousy, as the Spaniard, the Portuguese, or the Italian, and perhaps the Irishman; yet has he a cool, deliberate, and slowly calculating system of human torture, graduated by a court-martial, totally unknown in the penal codes of the United States whether civil or military. To prove or to disprove this allegation, consult the British history, examine the English penal code, and turn to the records of their punishments from Henry the Eighth to our own times,* and see whether we have calumniated a people who were bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Nor stop there, but scrutinize our motives, and judge whether what we have said be from a disposition to find fault, or to reform. This detestation of degrading and cruel punishments is not a transient whim. It pervades New England, where the inhabitants are all of one color; it reigns in our schools, and adorns our courts of law. The indecent, the shameful modes of punishment inflicted on young gentlemen in the Westminster and Eton schools are thought of in this country with disgust and abhorrence. In this cardinal point of degrading and cruel punishments we Americans differ widely from the people we sprang from; and it has laid and still lays a strong line of demarcation between the English character and the American. The treatment of prisoners of war justifies our assertion.

Have we said enough, or too much, to show that instead of fortifying our early notions and juvenile prejudices, we Americans try to reason down bigotry, that we may be able to judge of the sovereigns of the British, of their hereditary aristocracy, of their government, and of their people, as deliberately as we do of

* Within the current year appeared in our newspapers an article taken from an English paper, stating that two sergeants belonging to a certain British regiment quartered in Ireland, were sentenced to receive each *a thousand lashes*, that one received upwards of 600, the other upwards of 500, when they were unbound lest they should expire under the torture.

the characters and the affairs of the Greeks and Romans ? Have we rendered it probable that we are, in a good measure, divested of many idle notions, undue partialities and practices, prevalent in the land of our ancestors ? Not that we advocate the eradication of all prejudices ; some of which are necessary to our happiness if not existence, outrunning the slow pace of reason, and partaking more of instinct ; as the love of parents, and of our native country, which it would be wicked to smother, since they are implanted in our very nature to supply the place of reason, and are strongest where that is weakest.

We whose native language is English, possess a vast region of the globe, varied in climate and still more in fertility, diversified by mountains and valleys, the whole interposed between the boundless Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and all connected together by navigable rivers of unparalleled extent and magnitude, with interior seas greatly surpassing those in any other quarter of the globe, and rapidly traversed by the force of steam, a powerful but invisible agent, destined to expedite civilization, far more rapid (yet managable) than the wind itself. Neither Greeks, Romans, nor Phœnicians had any knowledge or even tradition of this vast country. The two first called all the more northern people *Scythians*, and all the western *Celtæ*, indiscriminately. Of Africa, they had no other knowledge than the nearest part of Ethiopia, nor even of Asia beyond the Ganges.* The boasted travels of certain philosophers and conquerors, so extraordinary during the epoch of Grecian splendor, excite a smile when compared with the voyages in our own days.

Having then, a wider horizon and fewer fables than the Greeks or Romans, and standing upon the shoulders of the British philosophers and politicians, we ought to see farther than they. Since the mariner's compass has aided commerce to bind a discordant world together in a golden chain, and since gunpowder has equalized the contests of battle, and the art of

* See Bacon's *Novum Organum*, Part. I. Sect. iv.

printing given wings to literature, a new order of things, undreamt of by the ancients, has taken place. With these advantages, and several others untold, we ventured half a century ago upon the experiment of self-government, and succeeded to our utmost wish ; our success being accompanied with a new and remarkable fact in the history of nations, which stamps us a peculiar people. I mean, that during a ten years' dispute in words, and a seven years' contest in arms, *we had no very great and leading man amongst us, to whose particular and individual foresight, wisdom, and personal address*, we can or ought to give the lofty title of LIBERATOR or SAVIOUR of his country. The memoirs of Franklin, and the printed letters of Washington, evince this. There was too much diffused wisdom in the great body of the people, and too much integrity in their representatives to admit an overshadowing of any individual leader. It was the wisdom of the *people* that made WASHINGTON what he was, from the very best of materials ; and he reflected back upon them his glorious character. Less conspicuous but by no means less efficacious were the unwearied labors of SAMUEL ADAMS in New England, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in Europe. But neither of them could ever have pushed forward a family interest an inch, had he tried. George Washington was drawn out from his liberal retirement by the voice of a judicious community. The people felt an irresistible confidence, that, under God, they were to be free by their own energy, wisdom, and courage, through the guiding influence of honest statesmen, and a cool, very prudent, republican General. And the one destined to lead was replete with that determined patriotic spirit, which reigned and triumphed throughout our seven years' struggle for independence, and eight years afterwards. Yet ten years anterior to his public appearance, the unconquerable spirit of Independence, "lord of the lion heart and eagle eye," inspired the souls of some in New England, particularly one, who with a prophet's foresight, and the persevering zeal of a reformer, united the fearless heart of a martyr. He did more than sow the seeds of

independence in a Puritan soil; he first touched and then managed those secret springs which separated us from the mother country, and insensibly brought forward that great and modest man, to whom a grateful people spontaneously gave the most honorable and endearing of titles,—**THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.***

Although derived principally from an English stock, we are yet theoretically and habitually a different people. It is from that memorable era of freedom denominated in England the *glorious* REVOLUTION of 1688, that we Americans trace a common principle of liberty with the English. It was when they called in a Dutchman to fill the throne of Great Britain; a man like our Washington, “silent and thoughtful; given to hear and inquire; of a sound and steady understanding; firm in what he once resolved or once denied; strongly intent on business, little on pleasure; by these virtues he engaged the attention of all men.”† Anterior to this epoch of whig principles, we are seldom disposed to cite English authorities; for what is there for veneration or example in the Plantagenets, Tudors, or Stuarts, or in their imported queens? We hold in high estimation the faithful history of that wise, brave, and prudent people the **DUTCH**, a race of men renowned for industry, sobriety, and learning, who have made their country, in spite of unpropitious nature, the most convenient and wonderful territory upon earth, bearing marks throughout of a sagacious, wise, and moral people, and whose metropolis not very long ago was the emporium of the world.‡ They are a people who not only excel in what may be called *the economy of human life*, but in learning also. May it not be said of that small territory denominated the Seven Provinces of Holland, that it contains

* WASHINGTON never ceased to betray marks of uneasiness whenever complimented as **THE** great man of the revolution. He used to say—“*I claim only the honor of commanding a brave and patriotic army in obedience to Congress.*”

† Hume’s character of King William the Third.

‡ Amsterdam.

more learning than any district of its size, that is or ever was in the world?

I am not certain that we could follow the literature and philosophy of a wiser nation than the British or the Dutch. But why follow any, seeing our vantage-ground excels that of either? We occupy a spot clear of false doctrines, and antiquated opinions on most subjects. We should ever bear in mind, that whoever *follows* must of necessity go *behind*.

Next after surmounting national prejudices, and local superstitions, is the heroic effort to rise above the prejudice of *time*, lest we too become nailed to the opinion that the ancients monopolized knowledge. Great, very great, as some of them certainly were, take them in the aggregate, we shall find them behind us, whatever some men of deep classical learning may imagine. Nor is that a matter for surprise, seeing venerable antiquity is in fact the *youth* of the world, and our times the age of maturity and riper judgment, and greater experience, and infinitely greater variety of knowledge. Shall we then, who live in the more advanced age of the world, indulge the idle disposition of confining our views to the narrow speculations of the ancients. The history of little more than a thousand years comprises all they knew. Great as some of the ancients confessedly were, it is a diminution of the majesty of mind to be awe-struck by the genius and industry of the most eminent of them.

Have we in this reverie done injustice to any? for "I am really," to use the words of Pope, "so far gone as to take pleasure in reveries of this kind." I will put an end to them with saying, that the separation of interests and of government which took place about fifty years ago between America and Great Britain, has not diminished in our eyes the brightness of that glorious constellation of genius and learning which marks and dignifies the reign of the Virgin Queen. We gaze at it from our observatory with undiminished admiration. Happy *Elizabeth*! to have flourished in the era of *BACON* and *Shakspeare*! Fortunate *Alexander*! to have run his race of glory in the days of *ARISTOTLE* and *PLATO*!

CHAPTER II.

IMPOSSIBLE THAT JUNIUS COULD HAVE BEEN THE SOLE DEPOSITARY OF HIS OWN SECRET. — MUST HAVE BEEN PAST THE NOON OF LIFE. — A NOBLEMAN, RICH, AND POWERFUL. — HIS WRITINGS MARKED BY PECULIARITY OF STYLE. — THEIR TENDENCY ALWAYS PATRIOTIC, AND EXCLUSIVELY ENGLISH. — HIS LETTER TO LORD CAMDEN DIFFERENT FROM ALL THE REST.

SITTING down to our adjusted *camera*, let us regard the passing scenery across the Atlantic ; and skipping over our digression, unite here the broken thread of our discourse.

It appears to our view, that the writings of JUNIUS emanated from one mind, and yet not without assistance. Some person must have been privy to them ; but this aid must have been confined to the writer's own household, to his nearest family connexions ; subordinate to one great, overruling mind ; an affair strictly, virtuously, and sacredly confidential, between persons knit closely together by affection, and bound to each other by a congenial feeling of resentment and of danger, partners "whose double bosoms seem to wear one heart" ; like husband, wife, and daughter by themselves in a deserted bark at sea, to sink or swim together. Otherwise, the transcription and the immediate transmission of those letters to one and the same printer could not have been accomplished, circumstances considered ; a service that could not be purchased with money or enforced by authority. It must have been done through kindred aid alone, it being that kind of concern in which the stranger doth not intermeddle. Without such domestic aid

and affectionate conspiracy, we cannot conceive that such an extraordinary and dangerous correspondence could possibly have been carried on three years undetected, and have remained undivulged to this time. None of the searchers after JUNIUS have considered this point with due attention.

The whole series of Letters indicate the author of them to have been a great man, a rich man, and an indignant one ; for here resentment and even wrath supplied the ordinary stimulus of fame, which the great man was contented to forego, sharpening to a keen edge the weapon of personal indignation as well as public avengement. Anger may be terrible, yet allowable, provided we sin not. But the indignation of JUNIUS has been too often called rancor, venom, and malice. If a considerable portion of his Letters, even the bitterest part of them, had been displayed in poetry instead of prose, they would have been denominated satire, and not stigmatized as effusions of a malignant heart. Did ever JUNIUS show so vindictive a spirit towards the Duke of Grafton or Lord Mansfield, as Burke testified towards Warren Hastings? In invective did he exceed very much Lord Chatham in parliament?

The diction and style of JUNIUS are peculiarly his own. Pregnant with meaning, his language differs from that of all other writers. Amid the most taunting sarcasms he is solemn, haughty, and impatient ; and whenever he is disposed to be playful, it is the lion dandling the ape. He never attempts to hold up the office of a king to ridicule, nor betrays the least sign of a wish to be one. Neither is there a discernible effort to stir up from the dust of the ground dangerous popular impressions, outrageous passions, or wild superstitions, such as are engendered between wrath and ignorance, calculated to move the legs and arms of the people, rather than to operate on their understanding and judgment. Stripped of all equivocation, he addresses minds of the first order. He lays no traps for weak intellects, no snares for the unwary, has no tricks of short-lived policy ; all is open and above-board. He speaks to his contemporaries, and at the same time to posterity. Though his awful warnings are

in the dignified style of a prophet, he hints at no deep, dark, and portentous designs yet unrevealed ; no concatenation of schemes by intriguing Jesuits, or mines of combustibles just ready to explode under the people's feet. There is nothing like Mr. Burke's hurricanes of eloquence, when beating up for volunteers to crusade against revolutionary France, nor any attempt to frighten reason from her throne that revenge might take her place, nor the least intimation of a desire to subvert or alter the English constitution of government. On the contrary, there appear throughout his energetic pages, loyalty to monarchy, homage to truth and correct morals, and a veneration of the laws. He seems neither a Scotchman, Irishman, nor American, but the inflexible Englishman treading sternly the straight, rough path of truth and constitutional duty.

JUNIUS is a gentleman ; and when he speaks to his Sovereign, it is with studied respect ; when he alludes to the unhappy King Charles, it is upon such nice and important points in the life of that well-intentioned monarch, that they rather indicate friendship than a wish to mortify the King. Louis the Fourteenth would have made a friend of such a counsellor ; and had the ill-educated Charles the First inclined his ear early to such an adviser, he might have died in his palace a common death, surrounded by affectionate relatives and grateful servants. Still there was something very alarming in JUNIUS, from his invisibility, and the not knowing what would come next. There seems this difference between the writings of JUNIUS and the passionate effusions of Burke ; the one shone like a glittering and transitory meteor in the thick and troubled atmosphere of England, while the other resembled more an appalling comet,—a terrific intruder from unknown regions of space, that

"In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations ; and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone
Above them all th' arch *Junius*."*

* Milton, B. 1.

In such a research as ours, when demonstration halts, the mind soothes itself by reposing upon the internal evidence of things, as in solemn matters above the contentions of men. Reading then by this candle of the Lord within us, we perceive that although genius alone produced the dramas of Shakspeare, and that strange production the Vision of Dante, and the Paradise of Milton, it could not have raised up and embodied that spirit of Whiggism that burns and blazes in the volumes before us ; in which, beside the facts, views, and reasoning, there is discernible a spirit of holy zeal not unlike that which characterizes the apostle Paul in a higher cause and a harder task, a zeal unaided by the ordinary stimulants of fame or riches. The world was not rich enough to purchase such exertions as those of *Paul* or of *JUNIUS*.

From every view of the subject, it appears that the author of the Letters must be sought among the very few great men of his day and country,—the *Burleighs* and the *Sullys* of the kingdom ; such men alone could give lessons of wisdom to a discontented nation, and its troubled King,—lessons which, while they compelled attention, excited dismay, like the fearful handwriting on the palace-walls of the Assyrian king. The original conception, the first resolution, the steady and dignified execution of the golden pages of *JUNIUS*, are above the minds of any of those men to whom they have been attributed, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Burke. What is there in the writings of Demosthenes or of Cicero that exceeds them ? We view the thundering Grecian, and the clear-headed, indefatigable Roman, through the long shadowy vista of antiquity, in which the imagination has some play, tending naturally to exaggeration ; while we examine and scrutinize *JUNIUS* through a near and more familiar umbrage.

To inform, to enlighten, to warn, and to advise for the best a young monarch, characterized by an ungovernable self-sufficiency, or in fewer words, by a strong will and weak judgment, a king too obstinate for patient endurance, yet rather too good for a second example to British kings and subjects,—to

remedy the disorder, required an inspired physician ; and such a one was the English JUNIUS *Brutus*. The grand indication was to remove something rotten in the state of Britain ; or rather “ *to infuse a portion of new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities,*”—a sentence uttered by Lord CHATHAM, and sanctified by JUNIUS.*

There is internal evidence that the writer of the Letters was a personage settled down in the steadfastness of advanced life and confirmed principles, under a satiety of worldly grandeur, familiarized with royalty, acquainted with privy councils, parliaments, and diplomatic affairs, and thoroughly versed in the architecture of the English constitution. There is a well-sustained dignity, bordering on austerity, “which gives to Junius the air and authority of a great personage in disguise.” His experience, the result of age, shines out in his thorough knowledge of the army and navy. His age is indicated in a private letter to Mr. Wilkes dated November 6, 1771, where he complains that no man writes under such disadvantages as himself. “I cannot consult the learned. I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted. Those who are conversant with books, well know how often they mislead us, when we have not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory.” Again. “After I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion.” This is in the plaintive tone of an old man, of a man of leisure, unassisted in that most important point, legal information : yet, in the execution of his heroic task, he must have had an intellectual aid. One blade of a pair of scissors by itself is useless. To cut,

* The words of the Earl of Chatham in Parliament, quoted by JUNIUS, who calls it “a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom.” It has allusion to an obsolete practice among some physicians in the 17th century, of transfusing the blood of young and healthy subjects into the veins of old and diseased ones. A more enlightened physiology and pathology have exploded both the theory and the practice of it.

they must be rivetted together. He must have had intellectual as well as chirographical aid. The question is, from whom? and of what kind? If money could have purchased it, the vital secret would have been betrayed and sold for money.

A haughty spirit pervades the writings of JUNIUS, and sometimes an imperious, domineering cast of mind, even when he must have discovered that he was wrong, as in his hasty attack on Parson Horne. He sometimes uses the language of rage and boiling anger in terms evidently studied and carefully labored, and utters contempt in phrases highly polished, "aware that a wound may be given more deeply with a burnished than with a rusty blade." * In his attacks on the Duke of Grafton and Lord Mansfield, he too often descends from the generality of reflection which is satire, to the abuse of their persons which is lampooning. It appears, however, more the result of keen resentment than the voice of mortified pride. Harsh as it sometime is, it partakes not of that atrabilarious malignity, that long-engendered, Tiberian acrimony, which human blood alone could dilute. His reprehensive manner has more the air of the supernatural inspiration of a prophet, thundering in the drowsy ears of stupid sinners, than the vulgar passion of a demagogue. He looks down with lordly indignation and generous rage upon all time-serving men, from the palace to the play-house. In the midst of his political anger, he evinces an amiable solicitude for the welfare of those beneath him, as towards his printer, Woodfall. The observation of Pliny is thus confirmed, that your gay, lively, philanthropic men, distinguished for kindness and good-humor, are equally remarkable for sharpness of expression and severity of language, when roused to resentment from a sense of injury; and experience has ever since strengthened the opinion, that mildness of disposition and benevolence are very often accompanied with the sharpest tone of invective against injustice and cruelty. The solicitude of JUNIUS for the welfare and respectability of that man of mixed qualities,

* Scott.

John Wilkes, extended even to his personal behaviour in the streets. "It is your interest," says he, "to keep up dignity and gravity; beside, I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets as much you do."

Moreover, JUNIUS appears to have been in the first rank of subjects, like one who had retired from high office in disgust; but who, seeing the machinery of government in disorder, and operating to its own destruction, was nevertheless heartily disposed to save it from utter ruin, provided the aiding hand itself remained unseen; and it was this which formed the puzzling cloud that surrounded him, giving a fearful halo of mystery to most things he advanced. He was indeed an ingenious inquisitor. He tortured his victims alternately with appalling truths, solemn doubts, and vexatious questions; or with imperfect satisfaction, just sufficient to create a thirst he meant not to satisfy. Anon, he gave them partial information, and inspired them with a dread of hearing more. Both courts were conscious that he could raise up spirits from the vasty deep of the "infamous peace."* So situated and circumstanced, he predicts events then only unfolding, and that in a solemn tone of anxious solicitude, and in a style oracular. Wearing the semblance of a superior being, he was frightfully magnified by the magical influence of invisibility.

In what prose writer do we meet finer figures, more apt allusions, or happier metaphors, especially when descending from the region of his superiority, he shows us, in accents of affability, the plant with its pregnant buds; and, alluding to the season, describes, in anticipation, its coming fruit whether good or evil. Looking into the seeds of time, the seer actually foretold which grain would grow and which would not; and we Americans have accordingly hailed him a venerable prophet.

JUNIUS exhibits abundant evidence of his entire devotion to his country. He regards England tantamount to all the rest of the world, and would fain be to Britain what the god *Terminus*

* See JUNIUS's Letter to the Duke of Bedford, September, 1769.

was to the Romans, who, when all their other deities were giving way, swore he would not stir an inch for Jupiter.* He treats with qualified respect the sword and helmet; and while he pays due homage to the crown and sceptre, he, now and then, casts a look of displeasure, if not disdain, on the wearer; for there is a *feeling* too strong to be concealed, and too natural to be feigned, pervading most of these addresses, which distinguishes them from the mere Shakspearian efforts of genius. No! there is a pencilling that could not be bought, as could the labors of Dryden and Johnson; a manner beyond all rules of art.

Carefully polished as some of these letters are, this hides not a something partaking of a morbid, or else a septuagenarian fretfulness, or both, betraying the frail and feverish being, and linking him to earth in despite of his boasted ethereal *umbra*. This is discoverable in some of his private letters to Wilkes and to Woodfall. Here we see him in his gown and slippers; but in his public letters he appears full-dressed, stern, and without a smile. His closing letter may be an exception to this remark. It is addressed to *Lord CAMDEN* in terms of high consideration and esteem, and with evident traits of equality; yet is it calculated for effect.† It looks like the art of the history painter, who sets off by contrast the odious character of an individual. Thus a skilful French painter,‡ in his picture of the first murderer, has added to him the figure of a beautiful woman, and two lovely children, in order to make the hideous appear more horrible in the countenance of *Cain*. So in this moral painting by JUNIUS, he touches and retouches his picture; and by artful contrast in the composition, and deep *Rembrandtian* shades, the figure starts horribly from the canvass, beguiling the judgment through the imagination.

The style of JUNIUS is peculiar, pure, laconic, and magisterial; and sometimes a provoking manner, a cross-examination

* *Restitit, et magno cum Jove templa tenet.* OVID.

† Its object was to render Lord Mansfield odious.

‡ David.

style, occasionally approaching to truculency. But when he calls forth his full powers, as in his first Letter, his famous one to the king, and a few others, then he speaks with the studied caution of a Mansfield; force, dignity, and precision predominate over the rules and flowers of rhetoric. He appears to sit upon a rock and look down on his subject, and his language is that of one who has nothing to wish for himself or to fear from others. He seems not to act from suggestion, advice, or agency, but his expressions of resolution and determination come from his all-sufficient self; he looks Independence personified. Did we believe entirely in the ancient doctrine of the transmigration of souls, we might easily imagine the soul of Brutus to inhabit the body of this British Peer. In his stern principles and energetic conduct, he appears another Hercules, who, having heard the howling of the beasts, straightway goes to the cave of the robber, and seizing *Cacus*, by a strong and relentless gripe, drags him forth amidst his fire and smoke to light and punishment.*

In the catalogue of great names, where between the years 1765 and 1770 can we find such a demi-god with his club and lion's skin? Certainly not among those guessed to have been JUNIUS. Is there, in any one of those supposed authors of the Letters in question, a writer whose pages are marked and dignified by that energetic, nay caustic style, which signalizes those dread tablets at which rogues, military commanders, ministers, nobles, princes, and kings trembled? Compare the corrosive-sublimate style of this ghost of JUNIUS *Brutus* with the liquid laudanum strains of half a dozen gentlemen to whom they have been from time to time attributed, and dismiss the notion of their competition for ever.

If sensible and learned men vary in their taste concerning painting, poetry, music, and architecture, it is no wonder that they differ in opinion concerning the short compositions of JUNIUS. An anecdote may illustrate my meaning. A painter

* Virgil, *Æn.* viii.

asked permission to copy an admired head in my possession ; I consented on condition that he showed me the copy. After detaining the picture a long time, he returned it ; when I asked to see his copy of it. He smiled and shook his head,—“ I have labored,” said he, “ again and again, and tried repeatedly, but cannot *fetch out* the expression, or even the coloring of the original. I have never failed to satisfy myself before with other pictures. What can be the reason now ? ” I replied, “ Because, Sir, that head, simple as it seemeth, is the production of a master* intent on pleasing himself, being his own countenance.” Every great master, whether painter or writer, has a certain inimitableness of his own.

So an adroit literary man may make a tolerable imitation of some numbers in Johnson’s Rambler, or some chapters of Gibbon’s Roman History, or any sermon of Dr. Blair ; but let him try his hand on Dean Swift, Dryden, or Addison, and *above all* on JUNIUS ;—or to come quite up to the point at once, let him read over some of the best Letters of JUNIUS, so as to make himself master of the *subject* without committing the words to memory, shut up the book, and then write a letter on the very topic, as near the matter and the style as he can, and afterwards compare his imitation with the original ; and he will see and feel the difference. An able and ingenious writer would find less difficulty in imitating the rich and florid style of Gibbon, the Rubens of British historians, than JUNIUS, their Michael Angelo.†

Disregarding, at present, the flowing drapery of JUNIUS, his style and diction, let us attend to the man himself, and notice some particulars which stamp the *mind* of the writer, if

* *Stuart.*

† Some of our own ingenious political writers have now and then struck out shining paragraphs very like some of the brilliant pages of Burke. But the word *like* has a wide range. *Simia quam similis nobis!* How like a man is a monkey ! But this imitative little creature, how unlike him who stands at the head of the visible series of animated creation !

they do not indicate his rank in society. The foremost of these is his daring resolution, and invincible determination to remain unknown, and the next is his *power* of carrying his project into complete effect. This is, in my opinion at least, a weighty consideration, as it confines our inquiry to a very small circle; for who among the great men of that day enjoyed a character so great, so very great, as voluntarily to endure and patiently allow such a deduction of fame, both contemporary and historical, as the authorship of those celebrated Letters would have conferred for ever on his name? How few, how very few of them would have been contented to go down to the silent grave and bury there a crown that might shine as conspicuously as that which fame bestowed on Cicero? Scrutinize the British list of great men from 1755 to 1760, and from that period to the year 1773, and name us the man sufficiently *provoked*, and likewise capable of writing those masterly appeals to George the Third, to his ministers, to the city authorities, and to the people. The Earl of Temple was replete with whig principles, had full enough ardor, independence, and resentful feelings; but he wanted the talents for such a display of them as JUNIUS has made. We repeat the question,—Who was so rich, so very rich in fame, so wrapt up in glory, as to conclude that he could afford such a subtraction from his stock of it, through a consciousness that he should leave enough behind to satisfy a wise man? This, considerate reader, is not a light argument.

The tantalizing, nay, solemn truths uttered for years from beneath a mask, were often pronounced in the spirit of bitter invective, sharpened frequently by satire; so was the coarse satire of *Chrysal*, which preceded JUNIUS about ten years; but there was as much difference between the weapons of the one and of the other, as between the rude arrows of our Indians and the shafts of Apollo. Those flew at random from behind trees and stumps; these never missed their aim, and came from on high, rankling the wounds they made, even to mortification. This so exasperated the objects of attack, that

nothing but the protecting cloud of personal invisibility secured the agent from the extremity of dire revenge ; hence every thing like truth was considered secondary to safety. JUNIUS was aware that his invisibility was a vital secret. Had he been discovered, whither could he have fled for shelter ? This country was then part of the realm ; and sovereigns and their ministers in every country upon earth were of course his deadly enemies ; for the dagger, the pistol, poison, and the bow-string are not so much to be dreaded as free and unshackled reason.

As JUNIUS could not but apprehend the utmost danger to his life, fame, and fortune, it is no wonder that he exercised all the faculties of his mind, and feelings of instinct, to secure concealment and elude discovery ; and taking every thing we know, and every thing we have a right to suppose, we must conclude that none but a very superior character, a man fortunately situated and circumstanced, could have preserved the all-important secret. I conceive that in the city of Paris it would have been as impossible as in a camp of veterans ; but in London, where there is no police, but where the manners of the people are, in a great measure, a substitute for it, the exploit was less difficult. Yet even there, allowing for the liberty of the press, it will ever remain a surprising fact, that such a political correspondence between an obnoxious writer, feared and detested by the whole administration, and a well known respectable printer, should nevertheless continue, with very little or no interruption, almost three years, and after all remain undetected !

If Mr. Woodfall was ignorant of the person of JUNIUS, it seems that he knew his rank, as he approaches him with the greatest deference, if not awe, as if addressing a superior being. After JUNIUS had intimated that he should write no more, Woodfall addresses him thus ; “ I hope you will believe that however agreeable to me it would be to be honored with your correspondence, I should never entertain the most distant wish that one ray of your splendor should be diminished by

your continuing to write." And when JUNIUS tells him to make the most of his collection of Letters for his sole benefit, he adds, with the friendly manner and feeling of high rank to an inferior,—“ Let your views in life be directed to a solid however moderate independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.”

It appears that the great unknown excited a still greater awe in the imagination of the hardy Mr. Wilkes; a sort of man little disposed to bow the head or bend the knee in reverence to any body or any thing. Yet in answer to a long and very interesting private letter written by JUNIUS to that celebrated man in August, 1771, he betrays an awe so great as to partake of a degree of profaneness. These are his words. “ I do not mean, Sir, to indulge the impertinent curiosity of finding out the most important secret of the times, *the Author of JUNIUS*. I will not attempt, with profane hands, to tear the sacred veil of the sanctuary; I am disposed with the inhabitants of *Attica* to erect *an altar* to the UNKNOWN GOD of our political idolatry; and will be content to worship him in clouds and darkness.”

This we conceive to have been the utmost reverence and respect that John Wilkes could feel towards an unknown superior intelligence, and to have been as heartfelt and sincere worship as any heathen ever offered up at Athens, Rome, or Corinth; and it is a curious modern specimen of what we read in our admired classics.

John Wilkes was by no means an ordinary man in talents, in education, and firmness of purpose, and if we view him alone by himself, he grows in our estimation; but if we compare him with his unknown correspondent, he shrinks in the comparison. The three long letters written to Wilkes in August and September, 1771, are, in my opinion, admirable as it regards the principles and views of the writer. What do we see in them? Hercules coaxing a froward child to that, which it had not mind enough to comprehend, relish, and act up to. The difference between the master and the disciple is striking.

After the failure of this laborious essay on the part of JUNIUS, he appears to have given up Wilkes and all the "horned cattle" of the city, and to have retained a good opinion of none but Mr. Sawbridge. He writes thus to his printer when about ceasing his hazardous labors—"I am weary of attacking a set of brutes whose writings are really too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention." And again, about the same time, and on the same subject—"Try Mr. Wilkes once more. Speak for me in a most friendly but firm tone, that I will not submit to be any longer aspersed." JUNIUS found that he himself was attacked in the newspapers by the city sub-factions, and he suspected that the Rev. John Horne was the writer; and therefore he hints to Woodfall that it was hardly honorable that Mr. Wilkes should leave him alone to defend himself, but that he ought to take up the cudgel in his support, and therefore he subjoins in a tone of disgust,—"*Between ourselves, let me recommend to you to be much on your guard with patriots.*" In another private letter to his printer,—"*I meant the cause, and the public. Both are given up.* I feel for the honor of this country, when I see there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question." He speaks to Wilkes of the insidious arts of Mr. Horne, and urges "the total and absolute renunciation of Mr. Horne." This is said in a long letter to the "patriot" of 21 August, 1771, which JUNIUS concludes thus;—"This letter, Sir, is not intended for a correct or polished composition; but it contains the very best of Junius's understanding;" and winds up with saying,—"*I am heartily weary of writing,*" &c. In another private letter to Mr. Wilkes, September 7th, he says,—"*A man, who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation. I feel myself, at this moment, in the very situation I describe; yet from the common enemy I expect nothing but hostilities against the people. It is the conduct of our friends that surprises and afflicts me.*" We refer the reader to the *History of the Minority*, printed in

London in 1766 ; and the publications of the day between 1768 to 1771, when Lord Chatham was incessantly abused for accepting a peerage. JUNIUS wished to make use of Wilkes and of Parson Horne in the serious business of reformation, but was repeatedly thwarted by the envy and jealousy of the one, and the vanity of the other. When addressing the first he curbs his indignation and says,—“ But my zeal, I perceive, betrays me ; I will endeavour to keep a better guard upon my temper, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language.” He then comments in his masterly manner upon the resolutions and doings of the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights* convened at the London Tavern, July 23, 1771 : in which he appears like a man of great experience and mature judgment, talking to children who could not or would not understand him. He suspected Mr. Horne to be the Marplot of his plan.

The difference in the ability of the two writers, JUNIUS and Wilkes, will appear even on a slight examination. The latter says to his unknown correspondent,—“ These three days I have had the shivering fits of a slow, lurking fever, [a strange disorder for Wilkes,] which makes writing painful to me. I could plunge the patriot-dagger in the heart of the tyrant of my country, but my hand would now tremble in doing it.” Again, speaking of revising and preparing for publication certain productions of the supporters of the Bill of Rights, he says to JUNIUS,—“ At all times I hate taking in other people’s *foul linen to wash !*” Of what loose and flimsy texture are those letters from the trembling hand of the hero of the “ North Briton,” contrasted with the firm and everlasting warp and woof of those by JUNIUS ! whose work is beautiful as strong, uniting admirable materials with high finish and splendor.

Amidst venality and corruption, Britain’s proud metropolis, the emporium of the world, the largest, richest, and freest city in Europe, comported herself nobly, notwithstanding some aberrations in a few of her officers, partly owing to an infection with which she had been inoculated by Lord Bute, and partly

from a morbid jealousy engendered among themselves ; the symptoms of which ran highest in the Rev. John Horne. Had he and his *quondam* friend Wilkes possessed genuine moral greatness, he would have followed the wise counsel of JUNIUS as expressed in his three admirable letters already cited, particularly as it respected the preference of Alderman Sawbridge for the next Lord Mayor. Mr. Horne, afterwards better known by the name of *Tooke*, without the imputation or suspicion of corruption, lost half his weight by turning a deaf ear to the advice of Junius given through the medium of Mr. Wilkes.

John Horne Tooke had talents, industry, learning, and ambition ; but his emulation, taking a low direction, involved him in perplexities, which, for that time, ruined him with his party. He had to do with men of business, who judged better but wrote worse than the the Parson. The ability to contrive, plan, and display upon paper, is a different matter from that adroitness in execution, with which *men of business* are familiar. If a little learning be a dangerous thing, a great deal of it is a cumbersome thing, impeding the march ; and the possessor of it is like a debilitated modern recruit staggering under the armour, accoutrements, arms, and provision of an old Roman soldier. Or, to use a better figure, John Horne Tooke was at that time a *weed*, that is, a fine plant out of his proper place ; hence he withered ; and when afterwards transplanted into his proper soil at *Purley*, he grew finely, and flourished as all the world has seen. We shall have occasion to speak of this fortunate man hereafter, and shall only remark now, that JUNIUS held in high honor the CITY OF LONDON ; but the faction, or rather sub-faction in it in 1771, nearly exhausted his stock of patience. He considered the reverend and learned gentleman just mentioned as the soul of it ; and this roused his indignation, and carried him a little too far in his expression of it ; for he imputed to Horne a corrupt court influence, from which he was entirely free. This gentleman was constitutionally honest and able ; but not in his right situation. How few, how very few are the

instances among ourselves, where clergymen who have descended from the pulpit into the dusty arena of politics, have not been there bewildered, blinded, and lost? A man cannot serve two masters.

Great ability is manifested in JUNIUS's first three private letters to John Wilkes, Esq. ; and in his fifty-ninth letter addressed to the printer of the Public Advertiser, on the 5th of October, 1771. I consider the sentiments contained therein as the native, heartfelt, genuine, unbought language of English patriotism, principles which no man can counterfeit, and which JUNIUS found it so hard to smother, and so hazardous to express. In his public letters, he inculcates this principle,—“That we should not generally reject the friendship or services of any man, because he differs from us in a *particular* opinion.” He adds,—“I care not with what principles a new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community.” “The spirit of the Americans may be an useful example to us. Our dogs and horses are only English upon English ground ; but patriotism, it seems, may be improved by transplanting.”*

“To complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of power, to lament the past, to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, are the common dispositions of the greatest part of mankind, the necessary effects of the ignorance and levity of the vulgar ; but nobody, I believe, will consider it merely the language of spleen or disappointment, if I say there is something alarming in the present conjuncture. There is hardly a man in or out of power who holds any other language. That government is at once dreaded and contemned ; that the laws are despoiled of all their respected and salutary terrors ; that their inaction is a subject of ridicule, and their exertion of abhorrence ; that rank, and office, and title, and all the solemn plausibilities of the world, have lost

* How far does this sentiment differ from the well-known opinion of the *Earl of Chatham* respecting the Americans?

their reverence and effect; that our foreign politics are as much deranged as our domestic economy; that our dependences are slackened in their affection, and loosened from their obedience; that we know neither how to yield nor how to enforce; that hardly any thing above or below, abroad or at home, is sound and entire; but that disconnection and confusion in offices, in parties, in families, in parliament, in the nation, prevail beyond the disorders of any former times; these are facts universally admitted and lamented." Such were the sentiments and the language of the celebrated Edmund Burke in 1770.*

It should be borne in mind that this deplorable condition of things was in the reign of a moral king, in the morning of life, a man of business more than of pleasure, addicted to no vicious habits, whose domestic virtues and rules of justice reflected honor upon his high station. What shall we say in explanation of that state of perplexedness which embarrassed the government of George the Third? Juvenal has said it for us,—“*Nullum Numen abest, si sit PRUDENTIA.*” In the early part of his life, and in the seclusion of his palace, there was no *Prudentia* or *Minerva* to listen to; and the consequence was, it first opened the mouth of JUNIUS, then raised up a Burke, and finally engendered a Peter Pindar, and every one of them operated more or less powerfully on the public mind.

It was at this gloomy and ill-boding period of their national affairs that JUNIUS called, in the tone and accents of an aged and weary patriot, on Lord CAMDEN saying—“My Lord! I turn with pleasure from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification. I call upon you in the name of the English nation, to stand forth in the defence of the laws of your country, and to exert, in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities, with which you are entrusted for the benefit of mankind.”

* Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.

The task assigned to Lord Camden by JUNIUS was against *Lord Chief Justice Mansfield* ; but Camden recoiled probably in despair from an undertaking in which a JUNIUS had failed. We would here remark, in passing, that Lord Camden was the most intimate political and private friend of Lord Chatham, and executor of his last will.

Is it not prominently remarkable that JUNIUS, who called on John Wilkes to aid him in the great cause of the people, never once calls upon the *Earl of Chatham*, that steady and consistent whig, that stern defender of constitutional principles, that renowned and incorruptible statesman, and most powerful orator, to lend a helping hand to save the ship of state in her sad plight and dangerous situation ? Is it not almost as surprising that the great reformer never once names the *Earl of Temple*, Chatham's brother-in-law and confidential friend, a whig of the first stamp, the heroic combatant of "*general warrants*," without whose exertions, and pecuniary aid, John Wilkes might have sunk into obscurity ? And is it not somewhat strange that Lord Chatham, copious as the matter of his speeches is, never once utters the name of JUNIUS, even when defending his printer Woodfall ? Neither Mr. Burke nor Lord North was so fastidious. The first spoke of him in the House of Commons thus—"How comes *this* JUNIUS to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished through the land ? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you, [nodding to several.] No ! they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail ? No sooner has he wounded one, than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancor and the venom with which I

was struck. In these respects the *North Briton* is as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in his daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes! he did make *you* his quarry,* and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of *your brow*, Sir.† He has attacked even you; he has, and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying our royal eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock,‡ he has laid you prostrate. Kings, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury.

“Were he a member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises, nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public.”

The staid and even-tempered *Lord North* was not too fastidious to mention the terrific boar of the woods. He said of him, “When factious and discontented men have brought things to this pass, why should we be surprised at the difficulty of bringing libellers to justice? Why should we wonder that *the great boar of the wood*, this mighty JUNIUS has broke through the toils, and foiled the hunters? Though

* *Quarry*. Game flown at by a hawk; hence the phrase—*he made game of him*. The word is unknown among the people of America, where the royal sport of *falconry* is not yet introduced.

† Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, had remarkably large eyebrows jutting over his optics like a pent-house. This is a fair specimen of Burke's ordinary oratory, and of Lord North's also.

‡ We know of no European bird large enough and strong enough to carry away a great man and dash him against a rock. Must not the orator have meant the *American Condor*? the largest and strongest fowl of the air; its wings being 18 feet from tip to tip.

there may be, at present, no spear that will reach him, yet he may be, some time or other, caught. At any rate, he will be exhausted with fruitless efforts; those tusks which he has been whetting, to wound and gnaw the constitution, will be worn out. Truth will at last prevail. The public will see and feel that he has either advanced false facts, or reasoned falsely from true principles; and that he has owed his escape to the *spirit of the times*, not to the justice of his cause."

These are timid sentiments, plaintive and childish notes, to come from the lips of a prime minister of Old England, the man who had the ignorance and presumption to declare out aloud, that he would bring humiliated America to his feet!

From the speeches just cited we learn Mr. Burke's opinion of the extraordinary powers, integrity, patriotism, and intrepidity bordering on temerity, of JUNIUS. It is evident that he regarded him, though invisible, with feelings of more than simple wonder,—with astonishment approximating to dread. His opinion corroborates the one which we have already advanced, that the English public in search of JUNIUS did not look high enough. It is apparent that Burke looked *up* at his terrific eagle.

As to "My Lord North," so everlastingly famous in this country, his speech betrays marks of trembling anxiety in every sentence. He moves softly, as if he were afraid of waking "the great boar of the woods," who had been whetting his terrible tusks before he went to sleep.* It is equally evident that Lord North did not look *down* upon JUNIUS. It is difficult to preserve that gravity which becomes our years, whenever we think of certain individuals to whom the authorship of those celebrated Letters has been, from time to time, attributed.

The deep solicitude of JUNIUS for the public welfare is strikingly apparent in his last private letter to Mr. Woodfall,

* We recommend this subject to some of the history painters in this new country, where they abound.

in which he said—"If I saw any prospect of uniting the City once more, I would readily continue to labor in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear from me. *Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat.** Farewell."

Here it seems, the "mighty Junius," so called by my *Lord North*, hung up his bow. The two missile darts sent after this date, seem thrown by an old and feeble arm and with a careless aim; like his *Memoirs of Lord Barrington*, every way unworthy his pen. His final private letter to Woodfall, of January 19, 1773, is more like himself; he says in it—"I have seen the signals thrown out for your 'old friend and correspondent.' Be assured that I have good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honor of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible. *You* have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity."

Here is a deliberate and solemn leave-taking, with ample reason why he should write no more; and this determination is handsomely acquiesced in by honest Woodfall, in his answer to his unknown but highly venerated correspondent. Yet what futile arguments have been, from time to time, obtruded on the public as to the cause of his ceasing from his labor. The cessation was natural and for sufficient reason; why then make a mystery of it, seeing his retreat was masterly, without loss, and facing the enemy to the very last manœuvre?

* *But if any one believes me to be changed in will, weakened in integrity, or broken in courage, he errs grossly.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

I AM aware that a favorite theory has a tendency to bias the judgment, and sweep us away, like a strong tide, from the anchorage of reason into the open sea of uncertainty ; yet if our theory be the fruit of long reflection, and founded upon inferences drawn from independent sources of evidence, it is more satisfactory than an assumed hypothesis. After a thoughtful series of years on this subject of our inquiry, and reiterated examination of facts as they rose ; and after disciplining speculation by *internal* as well as external evidence, I had concluded and settled down many years since in the opinion that WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, *was the author of the celebrated Letters under the signature of JUNIUS*. Nay, furthermore, that no other man had feelings just like them, and moreover that no other man was capable of writing them ; and as length of time, has, every year, added strength to this opinion, I am now to assign my reason for it. But this will lead me to give

A Sketch of the Life and Character of WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

Benigno Numine.*

THIS celebrated man was born in London, in the year 1708. He was esteemed at the University of Oxford a good scholar, a keen disputant, and by some a poet. But his ruling passion was the tented field, which he would have indulged had not a cruel hereditary gout, that seized on him even before

* *By the favor of Providence.* Motto of the noble house of CHATHAM.

he left Eton school, clipped the wings of his martial ambition, permitting him, however, to range the most fertile regions of ancient and modern literature. But for this hopeless disease, the world might have seen him a Hannibal, a Marlborough, or another Napoleon, and Britain deprived of the honor of rearing the second, nay the first orator on the records of fame.

Who can look into the seeds of time as it regards the destiny of man? Who will say that it was not all for the best, that young Pitt's energetic soul should be confined to a crazy case, unsuited to its warlike propensities, and that he, who otherwise would have blazed among the greatest of conquerors, was allowed only to shine the first of orators? The great and stern commander is, however, discernible throughout his eventful life. Quick-sighted, prompt, sagacious, fearless, haughty, and persevering, he never ceased to be a hero, a Hercules, a demi-god in wielding the powers of a great nation, and making the most powerful bend to his sway.

Among his most intimate companions at Eton school were Lord George Lyttleton, Henry Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and Henry Fielding.* There was an intimacy between Mr. Pitt, Mr. George Grenville, and Lord Lyttleton; for several years they always sat together in the House of Commons.

The gout drove young Pitt from the University before he could take a degree in the arts, and compelled him to travel on the continent in quest of health and mental improvement; and this so cultivated his mind, says Lord Chesterfield, that he acquired a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. His first speech in Parliament was in April, 1736. On his return to England, having kept his gout at bay by travelling, he accepted a cornet's commission in the horse-guards; and at the age of twenty-seven entered Parliament, where he shone a prodigy of manly eloquence, and virtuous independence, in

* Author of that masterly picture of the English character and manners, so well known by the title of *TOM JONES*.

opposition to the minister *Sir Robert Walpole*; and to his sore annoyance, who, it is said, once exclaimed—"How shall we muzzle this terrible cornet of horse?" *Sir Robert* was thought to have tainted his own judgment, and betrayed his want of sagacity, by depriving the young aspirant of his military commission. *Mr. Pitt* proved afterwards that he knew the science of political resentment much better than the minister. If you cannot kill a roaring lion at once, beware how you wound him. Several years after, this wounded and chafed lion "lay couching head on ground with cat-like watch," and sprang upon this very *Sir Robert Walpole*, when magnified in the eyes of a giddy world by an earldom, and dragged him forth to answer for his deeds of corruption before the nation, and indeed all Europe and America; for the eyes of all the world had long been turned on that shrewd minister of two Hanoverian kings of England, *George the First*, and *Second*.

Mr. Pitt's gouty malady was only arrested for a time by his travels, but not subdued; it recurred on his return home; and so entirely checked his martial ardor as to change its current from the camp to the senate. It appears that all his early exertions bore the stamp of a superior genius. Nor was this all. His industry and application were commensurate with his extraordinary powers of mind; and he so sedulously cultivated a rare assemblage of talents, that he was able to utter whatever his great soul conceived, better than any other man that ever spoke the English language, or perhaps any other. Before he was six and thirty years of age, his eloquence foretold his future fame.

When *Sir Robert Walpole* found that he could neither bribe nor otherwise "muzzle the terrible cornet of horse," he directed his hirelings and dependants to browbeat the young *Demosthenes*. He doubtless remembered the thundering orator of whom *Philip* stood more in fear than of all the rest of Greece. But they met their match, and more than their

match, in the undaunted courage and superior force and skill of "the terrible cornet of horse."

In the year 1740, Mr. Walpole, brother to the minister, thought fit to reply to one of Mr. Pitt's speeches, by saying—"Formidable sounds and furious declamation, confident assertions and lofty periods, may affect the young and inexperienced; and perhaps the honorable gentleman may have contracted his habits of oratory by conversing more with those of his own age, than with such as have had more opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and more successful methods of communicating their sentiments." And he made use of some expressions, such as "vehemence of gesture," "theatrical emotion," &c. applying them to Mr. Pitt's manner of speaking. When Mr. Walpole sat down, young Pitt rose slowly up and said,—“The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honorable gentleman has, with such spirit and decency, charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny; but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.

“Whether youth could be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not assume the province of determining. But surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object either of abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey hairs should secure him from insults. Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he advances in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.

“But youth is not my only crime; I have been accused of acting a theatrical part; a theatrical part may either imply

some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions and language of another. In the first sense the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned that it may be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though I may perhaps have some ambition, yet, to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction or his mien, however matured by age or modelled by experience. If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator, nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment he deserves. I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms, in which wealth and pride always entrench themselves; nor shall any thing but age restrain my resentment; age which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment.

“But with regard to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure; the heat that offended them is the ardor of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery.”

See here the seed of an extraordinary indigenous plant; the germ of a rare and splendid flower and uncommon fruit. Nay, who does not see in this early specimen of invective the future full-blown orator; the matter, the nature, the stern manner, and inflexible temper of a minister, who, while he reasoned down opposition, carried his victories with the rapidity of a mountain torrent; and, when political principle and personal resentment combined, could treat an aged member, brother of the prime minister, like a miscreant. Nor did the contest end there; but while he proceeded in a more pointed and still severer strain, bordering on abuse, a member alike aged with Mr. Walpole, called

the young orator to order, Pitt turning upon him, exclaimed—
“ If this be to preserve order, there is no danger from the most licentious tongue ; for what calumny can be more atrocious, or what reproach more severe than that of speaking without any regard to truth ? Order may sometimes be broken by passion or inadvertency, but will hardly be re-established by a monitor like this, who cannot govern his own passion whilst he is restraining the impetuosity of others ? ” *

These examples show us the man at an early stage of his career ; a young Hercules, impetuous, overbearing, haughty, and fearless, mighty in eloquence, and when provoked prone to insolence, without regarding station, wealth, or age ; in a word, a very JUNIUS. It seems from every account, written and traditional, that the personal appearance of Mr. Pitt was the happiest possible for a great orator. His countenance, his eye, his voice, his collected and fearless manner partaking of sternness and savouring of defiance, qualified, however, by a peculiarly fascinating demeanour of good breeding, and ever corresponding exactly with his subject, whether persuasive, indignant, objurgatory, or dictatorial, all constituted him the very soul and substance of eloquence. His occasional sickliness, his constitutional infirmity, even his gout aided his oratory. With one arm in a sling, he seemed, while speaking, as if able to direct Great Britain, and awe Europe with one hand. He very early acquired a certain inimitable manner of expressing strongly his indignation, or his contempt ; so that he became often an object rather of dread than affection to his contemporary legislators. He seldom restrained this propensity towards men of the Walpolean school, and too often, perhaps, gave way to a vituperative style, and a torrent of invective resembling rancor ; particularly towards Murray, Lord Mansfield. These endowments, acquirements, and talents gave him ascendancy in Parliament before he was forty years of age, which grew into authority, and enabled him before he was

* See Almon's Anecdotes of Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

fifty to bias greatly and, at times, to sway both King and Parliament. Nor is this to be much wondered at, when we consider the education and mere military character of George the Second, who, though quick and passionate, was placable and manageable. Mr. Pitt with a steady temper, strong will, sound judgment, and courage of every kind that never faltered, set all in motion, and could regulate the machine of his own making with the unerring power of a creative and controlling mind; and, whenever occasion required, adorned all his movements with the most polished manners, and that without confusion or hurry; for cool judgment was very often made to wait upon the promptness of his energetic mind.

However, Mr. Pitt's character was so purely English that he could not give in to all the Hanoverian politics of his sovereign. He thwarted his wishes in Parliament, derided his electoral troops, opposed his system of German politics generally, and was particularly active and successful in persuading Parliament to send home the Hanoverian and Hessian troops brought into the island of Great Britain to help the natives quell the Scotch rebellion in the year 1745. Pitt's opposition to the aged monarch's long-fostered partiality to Hanover, and to Germany generally, exasperated dislike to hatred, so that he could not hear Mr. Pitt named without visible emotion. Yet he continued to declare in Parliament manfully and steadily that *that* state was alone worthy of being denominated a *sovereign* and independent state, which relies upon its *own strength*, without having recourse to troops of another nation to preserve its existence. He therefore denounced, in his usual strong tone and powerful manner, the pityful policy of introducing foreign troops whether Russian or German.

In opposing the views of George the Second, Mr. Pitt could not avoid crossing the path of his favorite son the *Duke of Cumberland*, commander-in-chief of all the land forces of England. Yet the noble-minded Duke was constrained to say to Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, "I do not know Mr.

Pitt; but by what you tell me *Pitt appears to be what is scarce,—a MAN, and that man an ENGLISHMAN.*”

Notwithstanding his aversion, the king was told by the wise men about him that he must call Mr. Pitt into office, that his general character and popularity loudly demanded it. And he was not long after appointed Paymaster of the land forces; and in this important, and till that time very lucrative office, he manifested a punctuality, correctness, and disinterestedness rarely found in the annals of kingdoms. He would receive no more pay than the exact legal establishment; and accordingly paid a subsidy to the king of Sardinia *entire* without the usual deduction of a certain per-centage as a perquisite. This established his already high character for integrity throughout Europe, and added to its great weight in England. In that country, and in these United States, popularity is a mighty engine that generally operates the public benefit, unless it should be, like that of Sir Robert Walpole's, the fruit of bribery, or when acquired by an ambitious military chieftain.

What added to the perplexity of those who lived by princes' favor was the advanced age of the monarch, whilst his son Frederic, Prince of Wales, was in the vigor of life and health. Whether to sit most respectfully under the solemn gloom of the setting sun, or, in the dubious twilight, hail its rising beams, puzzled the will, and sadly embarrassed ambitious aspirants and professed courtiers; even Mr. Doddington knew not, at times, which way to bow. However the court of the heir-apparent at Leicester-House was more crowded than that of St. James. Considering the advanced age of the father and the middle age of the son, it is no great wonder that the *Heliolaters* outnumbered the *Threnodians*. Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt appeared occasionally at both levees.

But the face of affairs was suddenly changed by the very unexpected death of the *Prince of Wales*. An event so unlooked-for filled the opposition with the utmost consternation and confusion; for the adherents of his late Royal Highness had planned a systematic opposition to the government of his

father, which was to operate under the direction of that hopeful son, and his more able princess. Inferior as prince Frederic undoubtedly was in point of intellect, he never amassed private treasure, nor adopted any sinister advice with a view to collect wealth.* He perhaps never looked so far forward. We are unable to pronounce the character of Prince Frederic. We can only infer that he was neither wise nor prudent; for he would discuss freely the future system of his government, when his father's death should give him the crown. How unlike the character of Britain's present monarch George the Fourth! †

The spouse of Prince Frederic, and mother of King George the Third, was a German Princess; and to her the whigs attributed some of the most glaring instances of their national disgrace. The private history of such exclusive people is not to be depended on at this distance. JUNIUS abhorred her; and Earl Waldegrave, governor of Prince George, afterwards George the Third, despised her.‡ But who of us can by sifting find out the truth in characters so out of the way of common life. Through our *camera* however it does seem to us strange, that a renowned nation, slow in judgment, rich in wisdom, glorious in her constitution of government, haughty and insulated, and most mighty in the richness of her commerce, should, in her customs, stoop so low, as to take from among the poor and petty powers of the Continent, wives for their kings and princes, after suffering *as they have*, from the conduct of most of them.

* It may be superfluous, and it may not, to say to the American reader, that Prince Frederic was the eldest son of George the Second. His only brother was *William, Duke of Cumberland*; a man of considerable talents, and the favorite of his father, as well as of all the nation except the Scotch.

† Our journals have just announced the death of this monarch; and the emblems of our own sovereignty have expressed our regret by their position *half-mast high* on the shipping in our harbours.

‡ See Waldegrave's Memoirs.

Is there sufficient reason for this strange custom? Is there sound policy in the usage? Beside, what a dark shade does this practice cast upon the ladies of the first rank in England! It has been suggested that it was to secure and put beyond hazard Britain's Protestant religion. Indeed! On what sort of foundation is that church built which needs such slender props? On what can the church itself be erected, which is endangered by giving to the sovereigns of England, queens of British birth and education? Do they in the land of our forefathers think, that foreigners would feel a deeper interest in guarding the throne, and maintaining the rights of Englishmen, than natives themselves? Is it likely they would be more disposed to inculcate on the minds of their offspring the peculiar principles of the constitution; or that they would at any time support it with more steady bravery than native Britons? At this distance from that noble political planet these things appear marvellous in our eyes.

Mr. Pitt was no friend to these foreign connexions. He opposed with all his might certain subsidiary treaties with Russia, and with certain German princes, for a supply of troops for the defence of Hanover. But Mr. Pitt as Paymaster, and Mr. Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer, united in refusing payment until these treaties made by the King had been approved by Parliament. And for their non-compliance both were dismissed from office; and a new administration was formed, who obtained from Parliament a vote for £100,000 for Russia, and £54,000 for the Landgrave of Hesse.* But this administration, got up chiefly by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, was to the utmost degree unpopular.

In the year 1756 France began to march large bodies of troops towards the sea-coast, and threatened an invasion of England, than which nothing strikes more terror into those islanders, from the cabinet to the watermen upon the Thames. Soon after the important island of Minorca was taken by the

* See chap. xii. of Almon's Anecdotes of Lord Chatham.

French, and Admiral Byng, who had nothing to do with it, shot for it. A general dismay settled upon England, and foreign troops were again called in, which increased the public discontent ; for many weak people thought the kingdom was given up to Hessians and Hanoverians. The storm of public indignation increasing, the frightened ministry hastened to give in their resignations. In this situation of things the people turned their eyes on WILLIAM PITT, as their sure *Ægis* of protection, and it did their judgment credit. Amid their general depravity, inertness, frivolity, cowardice, and want of confidence in their government, one man appeared to stand their rock of defence, and that man was an invalid upon crutches,—such is the power of *mind* over matter.

Mr. Pitt, a consummate orator, and all-powerful in Parliament, knew how to speak better than any other man, and he knew how to be silent, which saving-knowledge Edmund Burke never attained. In the session of Parliament which began on the 11th of January 1753, and ended 7th June in the same year, Mr. Pitt was silent. In that which commenced on 15th of November, 1753, and terminated in April, 1754, he took no part in the debates. In the same year the Parliament was dissolved. The new Parliament met in November, in which session Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of certain grievances endured by the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, whom he represented as cruelly oppressed by an improper mode of paying their pensions. The poor, disabled veterans who were entitled to that charity were, he said, oppressed by a number of wretches who supplied them with money in advance, they paying the most exorbitant interest to certain usurers, who supplied them with small sums to relieve their pressing needs. The bill was brought in by an unanimous vote, and the aged and wounded soldiers were delivered from a flock of harpies. This exertion shows the true character of the man, and the fact ought to be added

to his everlasting monument, if its weight of laurels will allow room for it.*

Wide-spreading and solid as was the reputation of *William Pitt*, and great as was his influence, he increased both by marrying a noble lady, sister of Richard Earl Temple, and of the Right Hon. George Grenville, well remembered in this country as the *putative* father of the obnoxious stamp-act. This lady resembled her husband in the towering faculties of her mind, and in the assiduous cultivation of them, and was among women what her husband was among men. We desire the reader to bear in mind this happy circumstance in the life of *Lord CHATHAM*.

But to return to the perplexed monarch, who was left too much alone with very few friends and disinterested advisers. Among these the *Earl of Waldegrave* appears to have been the most estimable as a personal friend; for, after ceasing to be the governor of George Prince of Wales,† he withheld himself from public office though urged to it by the King. The Duke of Newcastle, a generous nobleman of a singular character, always hovered about the throne, ready to do any thing and every thing; and him the king authorized to apply to Mr. Pitt, with assurances that he was perfectly reconciled to taking him into his service. But the haughty commoner answered his application somewhat abruptly, that he would accept of no situation whatever under his Grace of Newcastle. This was on the 20th of October, 1756. The Duke of Devonshire was commissioned by the King to wait on Mr. Pitt, who was at Hayes, his country-seat in Kent, and offer a *carte-blanche*, except as to Mr. Henry Fox, whom the King wished to keep in his service; but Pitt gave a positive refusal to the royal request.‡ Upon

* See Junius's celebrated eulogy on Lord Chatham, Letter LV.

† Afterwards King George the Third.

‡ Mr. Pitt's stubborn rejection of Mr. Fox is a mystery to many, they having been school-fellows, and a friendship subsisting between them all their lives. We shall explain this hereafter, when speaking of the partiality of JUNIUS for *Lord Holland*.

this Mr. Fox immediately resigned his secretaryship. His resignation produced confusion, and the Duke of Newcastle and the rest of his Majesty's servants resigned also. This distressed the King extremely, and left him in a situation not to be envied. He complained bitterly to those about him of their ill treatment.

"At the earnest request of the King, the Duke of *Devonshire* took the Duke of *Newcastle's* place at the treasury, and again waited on Mr. *Pitt* at *Hayes*, with a message from his Majesty, requesting to know the terms upon which he would come into office. Mr. *Pitt* gave his arrangement. Himself to be Secretary of State; *Lord Temple*, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. *Legge*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Great Seal to be in commission; *George Grenville*, Treasurer of the Navy; and James Grenville, a Lord of the Treasury."*

At Mr. *Pitt's* desire, Charles Pratt Esq., afterwards Lord *Camden*, was made Attorney General.

What an idea does this convey of the mighty power and the virtuous influence of *William Pitt*. His vast popularity was a different thing from that which elevated *John Wilkes*, and inflated him to a monstrous size, frightful to the eye of reason and good order. *Pitt* had built for himself a solid reputation grounded upon virtue, honor, an honest patriotism, a character so respectable as in a manner to compel a monarch who hated him, to solicit him repeatedly to become his prime minister. With this great weight of character, and with a matchless power of eloquence, Mr. *Pitt* became Prime Minister. In other words, he took the helm of a crazy ship in a tempestuous season, with a miserable crew, and but three or four good officers; and yet, in due time, no ship of state, since the ark of Noah, ever sailed the ocean so gallantly.

When *Pitt* came into office, he stipulated certain conditions which were very extraordinary. He insisted that Lord *Anson* should be excluded from the cabinet; nor was that all, he in-

* *Almon's Anecdotes of Chatham.*

sisted that he *himself* should have the *correspondence* with the officers of the navy instead of the board of admiralty, and the King consented to it. Under this arrangement, Mr. Pitt wrote the instructions to the Admirals of the fleet, and to the Commodores and Captains, and these were signed by at least three of the Lords of the Admiralty, while a sheet of white paper covered the writing, so that they were kept in ignorance of what they signed, while all despatches and letters came to Mr. Pitt, who was Secretary of State, and at the same time Prime Minister. Lord Anson retained his place as First Lord of the Admiralty, under Pitt's limitation, and Mr. Fox took the pay office; and with these officers Pitt commenced his glorious administration in the year *one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven*; the brightest period of English history since the REVOLUTION of 1688.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM, CONTINUED.

LET us look back on some of the ground we have run too rapidly over.

GEORGE *the Second* had little or no affection for his eldest son, and it would seem not much for his grandson, who was never taught to respect him. Royal families, all the world over, have less affection for each other than those of untitled rank. The aged monarch had been deserted by his ministers in a very unfeeling manner. In this state of perplexity, the venerable *Duke of Devonshire*, knowing that the Sovereign needed both consolation and advice, asked an audience; in the course of it, he entreated the King to recall Mr. Pitt and place him at the head of the administration, as the only man, who, by his extraordinary talents, unbounded popularity, and integrity, could redeem the government from confusion. It is said that the King shed tears on recounting the unfeeling treatment of his late ministers, declared himself willing to follow the advice of Devonshire, and therefore requested the Duke to make application to Mr. Pitt, as we have related. In the conference, Pitt said to his Grace, "*My Lord! I am sure I can save this country, and nobody else can.*" This would have been arrogance from the lips of any other man. But he knew the state of the country better than any one else; and he knew also his own powers and means. This enabled him to say to the King on his first private audience, "*Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.*" What can convey a better idea of the venerable monarch than his prompt reply,—"*Deserve my confidence, and you shall have it.*" There is a

degree of sublimity in the sentiment of both. "*George the Second*, though not possessed of brilliant talents, yet, to a strong firmness of mind, he added a long experience of men and public affairs, with a sufficient share of penetration to distinguish, even in his present short acquaintance with Mr. *Pitt*, that he was a bold and intelligent minister ; qualities which were perfectly agreeable to the King, because the want of personal courage was not amongst his defects."* The minister perceived, from time to time, that he could manage his master to the benefit of his country ; and during the remainder of the King's life they acted together in harmony, and the nation saw and rejoiced at the union and cordiality of opinion between the Sovereign and his popular minister upon all public measures.

Before Pitt assumed the administration of the government, Britain had sustained losses and incurred disgraces in Europe, in Asia, and America. All public transactions were reduced to party feelings. This perplexed and discouraged officers abroad, who knew not how to act, and they became of course languid and dispirited in their military operations, and in their civil governments. In this country, the French were encroaching every day upon us. Their soldiers were superior to the British in discipline, and they had better officers, and beside that, the friendship of the Indians. The defeat of the over confident General Braddock, and the shameful inactivity and incapacity of Lord Loudon, left open a wide avenue to the conquest of these colonies.

When the two leaders of the late administration, the Duke of Newcastle and Henry Fox, were constrained to quit their hold on the government, they left enough of the leaven of the Leicester-House faction behind to disturb and thwart the new minister. The press teemed with abuse against him ; even with sarcasms on his bodily infirmities. If the old court at St. James's was restored from its gloom by the presence of Pitt, the new one at Leicester-House was considered by some

* Almon's Anecdotes.

no better than an impure nest in which was hatched a brood of evil designs against English and American liberty. A *coterie* assembled there unfriendly to the old monarch and his minister. The state of public manners was deplorable. Heroic virtue seemed to have fled, leaving in its place indolence, a sickliness of mind, a lack of spirit, a love of money with their miserable offspring, a habit of gaming carried on with a view to indulge in laziness, finery, and effeminacy ; and this engendered venality, or an utter disregard to every thing but self-interest. This deterioration of manners and principles was bred and nurtured in that hot-bed of corruption formed by Sir Robert Walpole. It appears strange that a hardy, stubborn, courageous people, as the British actually are, should have sunk into this effeminacy, after giving such evidence of bravery and patient endurance in the times of Charles the First and of Cromwell, and in the reign of Queen Anne. But so it really was. A sunless state of peace generated foul excrescences, and produced a morbid condition in the body-politic. The people of England were so sunk below their former character as to be absolutely dismayed at the incursion of a few half-naked, ill-appointed Scotchmen in 1745, and had recourse to foreign troops for protection. *Pitt* derided this step with his utmost powers of sarcasm ; and proclaimed *that* state alone a sovereign state, "*qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio.*"

The condition of things was at that time deplorable. A powerful writer of that day,* says,—“ Let us, with due abasement of heart, acknowledge that the love of country is no longer felt, and that, except in a few minds of uncommon greatness, *the principle of public spirit* EXISTS NOT.. That mighty principle, so often feigned, so seldom possessed, which it requires the united force of upright *manners*, generous *religion*, and unfeigned *honor* to support. So infatuated are we in the contempt of this powerful principle, that we deride the inhabi-

* Rev. Dr. Brown's *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*. London, 1757. (Seventh Edition in 1758.)

tants of a sister kingdom for their national attachments and regards."

That this was not the petulant effusion of a mere closet philosopher, an opinionated priest, ignorant of the world and of himself, who wantonly libelled his contemporaries, will appear pretty evident from the language of Mr. *Pitt* himself, who, about the same time, declared in Parliament his firm belief that there was an aversion in the navy and military commanders against any vigorous exertion whatever. He affirmed that scarcely a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was *the least appearance of danger*, could, with confidence, be trusted ; that a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed ; and that the contractors for the army and navy cared for little else than their own pecuniary advantage. The first military operations on the coast of France after Pitt came into office confirmed these assertions.

The reverend author just cited, when commenting on this lamentable state of things, says,—"*Necessity* and necessity alone must, in such a case, be the parent of reformation. Whenever this compelling power, *necessity*, shall appear, then, and not till then, may we hope that our deliverance is at hand. Effeminacy, rapacity, and faction will then be ready to resign the reigns they would now usurp ; one common danger will create one common interest ; virtue may rise on the ruins of corruption ; and a despairing nation yet be saved by the wisdom, the integrity, and unshaken courage of *some great MINISTER*." From what this powerful and solemn writer says in another part of his treatise, we have reason to conclude that he had Mr. *Pitt* particularly and individually in view.

Our great statesman, beside his rare talents and tried integrity, had a silent, lofty demeanour which sometimes offended English noblemen, and displeased foreign ambassadors. It seems not to have been the ostentatious arrogance of a Cardinal Woolsey ; but the laconic language and behaviour of the man of multifarious business, partaking more of the military commander, than the pride of high political station. Yet was he

remarkable for observing every rule of prescribed etiquette, and every mark of deference towards George the Second. We are told that no infirmity occasioned by his excruciating gout, could ever prevail on him, though requested, to be seated in his intercourse with the King. This was very far from displeasing a royal personage educated in the rigid rules of the German military-school etiquette.

That Mr. *Pitt* was a sort of terrific object to the King and his household may be inferred from an anecdote related by the eccentric *Horace Walpole*, afterwards Lord *Orford*; who says, that all the Hanoverian party had strange notions of the truculence of Pitt's virtue, and gives an almost ludicrous story in proof of it. That "on the 21st of October, the palace, not at all the scene of such actions, had one morning its solitude alarmed by an early visit of Mr. Pitt. The pages of the backstairs were seen hurrying about and crying—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt wants Lady Yarmouth, [George the Second's mistress.] The great stranger told her that he made her this abrupt morning visit to explain himself, lest it should be thought he had not been sufficiently explicit. He then repeated his *exclusion* of the Duke of Newcastle [in his stipulation with the Duke of Devonshire], and gave some civil though obscure hints,—as if in losing his Grace, Hanover might not lose *all* its friends," &c. This anecdote is pregnant with information. It hangs on a pivot. It related to the memorable negotiation with Mr. Pitt, for his return to office, when he pretended that he would trust the tongue of none else but the bosom friend of the monarch. No doubt the German lady was charmed with the politeness of the great man, and with his confidence in her. From that moment and for ever must she have changed her opinion of the terrific Mr. Pitt, and pronounced him the mirror of graciousness and civility.*

* Such was the domestic agitation, when the great and terrible man came to speak with the *confidante* of Majesty, that all was in a flutter. It was like the sudden appearance of a hawk in a barn-yard; cocks

Pitt's ever memorable administration, which commenced in the summer of 1757, was attended with the greatest advantage to the nation. Disaster had followed disaster in Germany. The Duke of Cumberland at the head of a fine army had been defeated at Hastenbeck, and finally compelled to surrender to the French, and sign the convention of Closter-seven.* England's powerful ally, the King of Prussia, was defeated, and his entire destruction appeared inevitable. As to this country, nothing was done or even attempted by Lord Loudon with his large land force, nor by Admiral Holburne, one of the severest persecutors of Byng, with a fleet of seventeen ships, while the French had nineteen. In the East Indies they were equally unsuccessful. While sad reverses were experienced abroad, the internal condition of England was no better; scarcity was added to disorder. What a task had Pitt before him! Yet he ventured to say,—*I can save this country*. But it was not until 1758 that the operations of his great mind were manifested to the world.

With extraordinary powers, Pitt entered the perilous road of reformation, amidst an host of domestic enemies, who were looking after him for evil. If he appeared in some respects a *dictator*, he mixed a judgment, prudence, and wisdom with his vigor, which secured to him the unanimous voice of Parliament, and swelled the tide of his popularity. This, with an uninterrupted course of success in his military achievements, awed into silence the remnants of the Leicester-House faction, and Pitt was at one and the same time, *the man of the people*, and the pride of the crown. He was an illustrious example of the maxim that knowledge is power.

In the midst of frivolity, indolence, and venality, the proud feelings natural to the British nation were severely stung by the

and cockerels, old hens, chickens, ducks and ducklings, all running in a fright.

* The articles of this convention were fulfilled about as well as we fulfilled the convention of Saratoga, when General Burgoyne surrendered his army to the Americans in October, 1777.

keen reproaches of the minister in the House of Commons ; nor were they less mortified at the cogent remarks of certain able and zealous moral writers. Political pamphlets and moral tracts were rare seventy years ago compared with the present day, and attracted then more attention. These had their good effect ; and they, with Pitt's eloquence, awakened the army, the navy, and the representatives of the people in Parliament from their dreams of indolence ; when all, operating together, roused the slumbering energies of a luxurious race, who had been not a little injured by the frivolity and effeminacy of the court of Louis the Fifteenth : for though perpetual enemies, the French gave the *ton* to the English then, as the English give it now to the French (1830). An ostentatious nobility and the gambling part of the gentry appeared to feel the reproaches from the senate, the press, and the pulpit ; while those in the lower ranks were touched by the keen satire of the drama, and by the moral pencil of Hogarth ; and others were awakened to recollection and remorse by the zeal of a new and meritorious sect denominated *Methodists*, under their two celebrated apostles *Whitefield* and *Wesley*. The London community started back with shame and affright from the mirror thus held up to them.

In this state of morals, *commerce* lost, in some measure, its wonted spring. The old Hanoverian King was but little acquainted with that vital circulation of the heart's blood of old England, while his minister, Pitt, knew thoroughly the first, second, and third concoction of it, and he therefore watched the health of Britannia with the anxious solicitude of a parent, and the skill of a great physician. And in this respect our admiration of the capacity, ability, and industry of the minister is increased at every view of his wonderful powers of intellect and of action, especially when we take into consideration the untoward materials on which he had to operate.

"It is a peculiar praise of Mr. Pitt," says his biographer,*
 "that in him were concentrated several powers of the most

* Mr. Thackeray.

opposite description, any one of which is sufficient to distinguish its possessor, and the union of which in one man has generally been deemed impossible.- In him, intense powers of application were joined to the quickest perception, and the most brilliant imagination to the soundest judgment. He astonished Europe as much by the energy of his measures, as he shook the senate of Great Britain by the thunders of his eloquence. As a minister his whole attention was devoted to the interests of his country, and perhaps history shows nothing equal to the system of intelligence, the vigor of counsels, and the promptitude and success of execution, which marked his administration. It was now that the strenuous system of Mr. Pitt began to produce its effects. As he had taken, in a great measure, the superintendence of every department of government upon himself, his authority and example now began to excite in others a proper sense of their own responsibility. When they saw the minister regular and indefatigable in his country's service, they also were naturally impelled to adopt similar habits of application. The generous were actuated by the noble ambition of the minister, the mean and selfish knew that they had to deal with one who would call them to a severe account for any dereliction of their duty."

One of the first objects of Mr. Pitt's attention was the protection of these colonies from the encroachments of the French. But before he attempted conquest abroad, he took a bold step at home, by sending out of the island every one of those regiments of Hanoverians and Hessians imported by George the Second to defend England against his Continental and Caledonian enemies. To supply their place he proposed to call out, train, and organize the militia, so regulated and established as to allow with safety the sending fleets and armies to make conquests in distant parts of the world. He used to call their fleet "*our standing army*"; and the army "a little spirited body," so improved by discipline that *that* discipline was worth five thousand men. "If," said he in Parliament, "you take care to discipline the farmer, the day-laborer, and

the mechanic, each of these may become a good soldier, and always prepared to defend the country. It is dangerous to our liberties, and destructive to our trade, to encourage great numbers of our people to depend for their livelihood upon the profession of arms." While planning and encouraging the militia system, he paid due attention to improving the state of the army and the navy. Both soon felt they had a new master, who knew the duties of his own nominal station, and the obligations of theirs. He scrutinized with a keen eye every part of their conduct, and caused every officer to do his duty. The whole nation perceived the warmth of his spirit, and the military experienced his electric fire even in this remote region where I am now writing. Patriotism rose from the couch of luxury, and sleepy ambition dreamt of buckling on its armour.

No one understood better the maxim of Lord Bacon, that "*Method is the soul of science*," than Mr. Pitt. His habits of order and arrangement did much, and his example more. Though at times grievously tormented with gout, he was indefatigable, regular, and punctual, and he took care to exact those qualities from all under him. He not unfrequently gave orders from his bed, and issued important military directions when he could not use hand or foot. He was a strict economist of time. He avoided all ceremonious visits and formal introductions. He declined levees, dinner and supper parties, and all such moths of time, health, and business; and the result was a bright and beautiful procession of affairs. Industry led the van, order maintained the centre, and despatch closed the rear without a straggler.

It has been said that the British ministers resident at foreign courts, during Pitt's administration, acknowledged the wonderful exactness with which all communications were made to them, and the clearness and perspicuity with which all their instructions were expressed; an example of which may be found in his instructions to and correspondence with Mr. Hans Stanley in 1761, respecting the preliminaries of peace with France. Sir

James Porter, who passed the principal part of his life in a diplomatic character, often declared to his friends, that during Mr. Pitt's administration there was such a correct knowledge, and so active a spirit pervading all the departments of state and the concerns of government, and such a striking alteration in the manner as well as the matter of the official communications, that these circumstances alone would have convinced him of Mr. Pitt's appointment or resignation, had he received no other notice of the event.*

In the year 1758 the British arms were successful in every quarter of the globe. Despatch, confidence, clear information, and victory, proceeded from the master-mind of Pitt, who enjoyed the entire confidence of his Sovereign and of the whole Parliament. The almost lost honor of Britain was recovered, and her natives awakened to a recollection of their former character. Great as were the successes of the year fifty-eight, those of the year *seventeen hundred fifty-nine* were greater. It may be called the year of unanimity and victory.

Yet in this year of splendid conquests the seeds of discord were sown by that mischievous hand which every *Englishman* ought to execrate, and every American forgive. It was owing to that never-failing source of dissension and strife in little minds, the patronage of places, in which *Lord Bute* interfered. He told the Duke of Newcastle, that he came to him in the name of all those on that side of the administration, meaning the Leicester-House party, who thought they had as good a right to recommend as any other party whatever. It was an attempt to injure Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, a highly valued friend of Mr. Pitt, and a great favorite of the people, to accomodate one of Lord Bute's family. From this small beginning rose an opposition which shook the nation to its extremities, and finally divided the Empire.

We have already glanced at the drowsy condition of things before Pitt was called to the helm. George the Second had

* Almon's Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham.

now arrived at that age of man when business is a burden, resolution flags, and tranquillity is the *summum bonum*, yet without any remarkable diminution of his judgment. France was at war with England, and Spain betrayed her intentions of joining in it, while the spirit of the English seemed in a measure evaporated. In such a lulling atmosphere it is no wonder that the military dosed on their arms, and the navy rested on their oars, while the nobility and gentry were taxing their invention to find out new amusements.

Such was the stagnant state of affairs when *William Pitt* blew the blast of war in their ears, and roused the old British spirit from its slumber. Its clangor was heard across the wide Atlantic, and echoed back from these American shores.

“With joy we view’d the waving ensigns fly,
And heard the trumpet’s clangor pierce the sky.”

The success which followed in Europe, in Asia, and in America, rendered the latter part of the reign of the second George gloriously memorable, and justified Pitt in saying to the *Duke of Dorset*, “I AM SURE, MY LORD, I CAN SAVE THIS COUNTRY.”

Here follows a mere catalogue of captures, or epitome of the Conquests achieved in Pitt’s administration.*

1757.

“The Hanoverians and Hessians were sent home, and a well regulated militia established ; by which the enemy saw, that we were so far from wanting foreign troops to protect us, that we could afford to send the national troops abroad.

The foundations were laid of the subsequent conquests.

Fleets and armies were sent to Asia, Africa, and America.

1758.

Shipping destroyed at St. Malo.

* Taken from “Anecdotes of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham,” published by Almon.

Bason and shipping destroyed at Cherburg.

Emden recovered from the French.

Senegal taken.

Louisbourg, and the Isles of Cape Breton and St. John's, taken. *

Fort Frontenac taken ; and Fort Du Quesne taken.

Fort and Island of Goree taken.

Massulipatam taken. D'Ache's fleet defeated.

French army defeated at Crevelt. French fleet under *Du Quesne* taken by Admiral *Osborne*.

French fleet drove ashore at Rochefort by Sir *Edward Hawke*.

1759.

French fleet under *De la Clue* taken by Admiral *Boscawen*.

Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, &c., taken.

Siege of Madras raised. Surat taken.

Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point taken.

The city of QUEBEC taken.

Complete defeat of the French fleet in the Quiberon bay.

French army defeated at Minden.

Shipping destroyed at Havre.

1760.

Thurot killed, and his three frigates taken.

French army defeated at Warburgh.

Montreal taken. Frigates, stages, and stores destroyed in Chaleur bay.

ALL CANADA subdued.

Dominique and Dumet taken.

1761.

Pondicherry taken ; and all the French power in India destroyed. Belleisle taken. French army defeated at Fellinghausen.

* Great assistance was furnished by New England forces and commanders.

1762.

Martinico taken. Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, and the Havana, after Pitt's resignation, yet in consequence of his plans.

To these conquests of territory must be added the destruction of the French marine, commerce, and credit; France lost the following ships of war, which composed nine tenths of her royal navy : namely,

Forty-four ships of the line, viz. four of 84 ; eleven of 74 ; two of 70 ; seventeen of 64 ; two of 60 ; two of 56 ; one of 54 ; and five of 50.

Sixty-one frigates, viz. four of 44 ; two of 40 ; eighteen of 36 ; two of 34 ; fifteen of 32 ; one of 30 ; one of 28 ; two of 26 ; eight of 24 ; two of 22 ; six of 20.

Twenty-six sloops of war.

Besides the advantages derived from all these conquests and captures, Mr. Pitt left the late thirteen British Colonies in North America, in perfect security and happiness ; every inhabitant there glowing with the warmest affection to the parent country. At home all was animation and industry. Riches and glory flowed in from every quarter."

On such an accession of wealth, power, and reputation to the Romans, triumphal arches and superb columns would have arisen in the " eternal city," to astonish after-ages with her glory ; and to record the fame of the man by whose special counsel and energy such a series of conquests had been achieved : and in the kingdoms of modern Europe, riches and the highest honors would have been heaped on him who had been a prime minister of such renown. Instead of that, pamphlets were written by hired writers of the King's party, and industriously circulated to brand him as an apostate and deserter, with every term of reproach, that malice could apply or depravity suggest ; and every art and method was practised in order to change the public opinion respecting the glory of Pitt's measures, the honor of his character, and the purity of his conduct. Lord Bute's faction dreaded his *return to power*, and

therefore nothing was left untried to destroy his popularity ; and on his being created Earl of Chatham, their diabolical arts in some measure succeeded. Had this been the work of the whigs, it might not have been so surprising ; but it was the base language of the Leicester-House faction. Newspaper essays, oral scandal, and every other channel to the public ear, were employed in calumniating the new *Earl of Chatham*. — *Smollet*,* *Mallet*, *Francis*, *Home*, *Murphy*, and *Maudit*, were the chief instruments used to effect in England what in some other countries is often perpetrated by poison. † Such was the relative situation of the subject of this sketch.

The first year of Pitt's war was enough to discourage any other man. It was marked with laziness, discord, weakness, and dejection. Impediments were thrown in his way by the followers of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Bute, yet he so far overcame them all that in the second year he frowned down discord, shamed cowardice, gave aid and encouragement to weakness, and chased away despondency. We should bear in mind, that want of virtue was not only the characteristic of the British ministry, but of the age, of which the contemporary government of Louis XV. was another striking instance.

It is no wonder that the incessant clamor of the waste of public money and Pitt's peerage and pension, raised by hireling writers, should at length slacken the strong current of his popularity. But it soon returned to its former channels with increased force, which was nobly expressed in an address by the city of London ; and cordially echoed by the populace, as the following anecdote evinces. It has been

* Dr. Smollet was among celebrated writers what *Teniers* was among artists, an exact painter of low life and mean characters. His forte was the *burlesque*.

† "The sum paid to these and other hired writers, during the first three years of the reign of George the Third, exceeded a hundred thousand pounds : and the printing charges amounted to more than twice that sum. And as to the few who might attempt to undeceive the public, there was a *political Judge* (*Lord Mansfield*) ready to punish their temerity."—*Almon*.

customary for the Kings and Queens of England to go in grand procession and dine in Guildhall on the next ensuing Lord Mayor's day after their coronation. On this occasion the minister was honored, in all the streets through which he passed, with the most enthusiastic tokens of applause. The people clung about his carriage, uttering shouts of joy, while gentlemen and ladies in the balconies and windows waved their hats and handkerchiefs. The courtiers reported that his Majesty betrayed signs of displeasure, that the respect paid to Mr. Pitt was greater than that shown to himself. What added to the uneasiness of royalty was the unanimity of Parliament in support of Pitt's warlike measures, and the enormous sum (*twelve millions sterling*) voted to carry on the war. From that time the destruction of his popularity was the principal object of Lord Bute and his superiors. It was an eye-sore ; — it was an object too splendid to be looked at without giving pain ; and we, in this distant region, have thought that the peerage and the pension went far towards curing the evil eye ; and that it was a strong mark of the monarch's characteristic policy. Throughout all nature, what an animal lacks in strength is made up in cunning or venom.

On the 9th of October, 1761, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to the King, and was thereupon created *Earl of Chatham* with an annuity of three thousand pounds sterling. On the same day, *Earl Temple*, keeper of the King's privy seal, resigned that office.

Henceforward we are to view Lord Chatham as a member of Parliament only, with no other influence than his great character, matchless talents, spotless integrity, and overpowering oratory. He doubtless found and felt the change. If obsequiousness ceased to follow him, and confidence stood aloof, it was occasioned by no alteration in his sentiments or change in his principles. As a member of the House of Lords, not one of his former political associates in the Commons could impeach his conduct or his virtue, or reproach him for relaxation in the great cause of the people. On the contrary, he never exerted

himself to greater effect. But the influence of corruption to feed avarice and vanity, was every where discernible. In their House of Representatives homage was paid to the distributor of rewards, and the predominant desire was to get into a lucrative station, or to remain in possession of what they enjoyed.

It was in October, 1760, that King George the Second unexpectedly expired. He dropped dead on the floor from, literally speaking, a broken heart,* with no one near him, as suddenly as if shot; and that without any previous illness whatever. One of the latest historians adds, — “weltering on the floor.”†

Notwithstanding his general good character as a brave, honorable, just, and well-intentioned man, few regretted his death. Subjects become tired of a long reign; and the Britons, whose ruling passion is novelty, are more apt to be impatient than most other people. They felt its tediousness before Mr. Pitt took the helm. The vigor, activity, and success of his administration dissipated, for a time, the drowsiness occasioned by an octogenarian sovereign, and that perplexing state of ambiguity which never fails to take place between the rising and setting sun of a nation, when it is neither clear day nor dark night, but a puzzling twilight. In such a season young Princes are apt to lose the right way, and old monarchs to see dimly. It is moreover a trying situation for ministers, domestic governors, and young courtiers. Whoever takes the lead must go before those highly privileged mortals; and dull and positive dotage, and rash, inexperienced juvenility, are equally conceited of their powers and jealous of direction.

“As to the successor of George the Second,” and we choose to cite the words of a reputable and intelligent British writer, ‡ “the effects of the wickedness of his advisers have

* A rupture of one of its ventricles.

† History of the Reign of George III., by Robert Bisset, LL. D. London, 1803.

‡ Mr. John Almon was an eminent Bookseller in London, enjoying

been, and are still too deeply felt to be described in any terms adequate to the injuries committed. Posterity, in a subsequent age, [he might have added, or *in another country where the English is vernacular,*] when truth may be spoken, and the motives of men laid open, will be astonished at the conduct of their ancestors at this period." — "Notwithstanding this confirmed state of modern depravity, TRUTH will continue to have her worshippers; and it may be presumed that they will, in the present age, as they have in former ages, survive the advocates of corruption and falsehood. It is to them only that impartial history can address herself; from them only she can expect protection. The betrayer of his country, and the destroyer of public liberty, whether supported by a Commodus, or protected by a *Faustina*, may endeavour, by the assistance of the slavish instruments of law, to intimidate and to strangle her voice; but conscious that she has *Truth* for her shield, she ventures upon a task that will give a new complexion to the public events of one of the most interesting periods in the annals of Great-Britain."

a very extensive correspondence, and the oracle of the times for news, particularly what related to this country. His vendible Library was the resort of men of the first consequence, — a kind of literary exchange, where convened, not only members of the House of Commons, but men in higher station. *Earl Temple* was much attached to him; and to his Lordship he dedicated his *Review of Pitt's Administration*. He likewise published *Anecdotes of the Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, EARL OF CHATHAM, with his Speeches in Parliament*, evidently under the patronage of the *Dowager Countess of Chatham*, and her brother Lord Temple, and also by the assistance of Lords Lyttelton, Fortescue, and Carysfort, the Right Hon. W. G. Hamilton, Right Hon. R. Rigby, Governor Pownall, and others.

We are indebted to Mr. Almon, and to his close follower, the Rev. Francis Thackeray, for interesting information respecting the illustrious subject of this sketch. Mr. Almon was more a man of the fashionable world, than Mr. Henry S. Woodfall. He was distinguished for his gentlemanly manners and agreeable colloquial powers, which gave him access to men of the highest rank and literary eminence.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM, CONTINUED.

WHEN George the Third came to the crown, there were high expectations, and the most pleasing predictions, from his being a virtuous young man and a *native* king. Every thing was construed in his favor. His affability, contrasted with the stiff formality of his German grandfather, seemed to confirm this notion.*

Having no rakish seeds to germinate within him, he passed the most dangerous period of youth with his dear mother chiefly in the nursery. This subtle woman, finding she could not make her son a Solomon, resolved on making him another

* Notwithstanding these flattering presages at the coronation, the superstitious portion of the English people had their forebodings. They remarked, that he was not born in a palace, but in a private mansion (Norfolk-house); that he was a seven-months child, which is considered by some above the vulgar as an indication of imperfection. Whether his private history tends to strengthen this notion, we live too far off to decide. His own mother told Lord Melcombe, that George was a dull and timid boy without any apparent partiality for any one. The Earl of Waldegrave, who was his governor, says of him, that "he has a kind of unhappiness in his temper which, if not conquered before it has taken deep root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet, not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humor." The same nobleman adds, that "his mother and the nursery always prevailed over his preceptors and governor."

Joseph, that so *she* might still govern him when king. Those who surround heirs-apparent know what key to touch. The halo about the young king soon thinned away. The honeymoon of accession had its natural wane, and it was not long before England became filled with apprehensions and discontents arising from a secret influence behind the throne. Straws and feathers show which way the wind blows. It was not deemed polite and proper to speak in terms of respect or regret of the late king; but to whisper reproaches for his attachment and partiality to his electoral dominions and regard for the whigs, to which noble phalanx they gave the invidious name of republicans.

PITT, the favorite of the people and pride of the nation, was assailed in the most abusive style by hireling writers, chiefly Scotchmen. Frequently their railings were more like savage rage than the effusions of literary men, and in every instance their invectives far surpassed the alleged cause. The voice of these political drudges was strained to the highest pitch, in order to convert the glory of Pitt's victories, under George the Second, into crimes. Had the age, the region, or custom allowed it, a poisoned draught, the stiletto, a Tarpeian rock, or the old Tudor axe, would have terminated the glorious career of the greatest and most disinterested prime minister the world had, perhaps, ever seen.

Only two days after the accession of the native king, the Caledonian *Earl of Bute* was added to the privy council. The name of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was struck out of the liturgy, or formulary of public prayers, of the established church. Some thought that the unnecessary severity inflicted by the Duke on the defeated Scotch, after his victory at Culloden in the year 1745, was one cause of this affront.*

But the foul torrent of abuse poured upon Lord Chatham and his most distinguished friends, was so violent and unprecedented as to produce counter-streams, which uniting formed a

* It might possibly have been a church and state etiquette unknown to us.

cataract that ultimately affected the repose of the throne, and actually divided one half of the empire from the other. Of these counter-streams the famous *North Briton* was the most distinguished for its force and foulness. It was chiefly against Lord Bute and the Princess Dowager of Wales. Nor was the young monarch himself entirely spared, who, every one supposed, might and ought to have checked and discouraged disrespectful expressions concerning the late king, his grandfather.

Mr. Wilkes was considered the principal writer in the *North Briton*, in which periodical work the Scotch nation was held up to derision by the most provoking satire. The character of Wilkes was not adorned with every moral virtue, nor with very extraordinary talents as a writer or speaker. He possessed, however, the stubbornness and perseverance of the English character to the full. Yet was he a gay, witty, profligate, and, at times, profane-spoken man, with remarkable convivial powers, more calculated to shine at the court of a Charles the Second, than at the levees of any king of the Brunswick line. The passionate, vindictive, imprudent, and indeed illegal conduct of the crown, made John Wilkes a man of very great consequence, and procured him a degree of popularity and favor from some men of high rank that was astonishing. The sovereign people actually stepped forth, and protected him from royal vengeance. The virtuous Earl of Chatham, though he denounced him severely at first, at length advocated warmly his *cause* in the House of Peers; and the fastidious JUNIUS coaxed and flattered him in private letters, while all the powers of royalty were exerted, for years, to crush this man, — an outlaw, a bankrupt, a libertine, a man not worth a farthing.

The undignified contest with a private subject, the inadequate, or, as most people called it, "the infamous peace," and the unwise quarrel and consequent war with these North American colonies, mark strongly the natural and the kingly character of George the Third. This character was not that of cruelty or flagrant injustice, but an inflexible obstinacy and

ungovernable self-sufficiency, joined to a wheedling, cajoling, manner, whenever he meant to carry a point with an individual subject ; as in the case of the unhappy Mr. Yorke, noticed by JUNIUS.

When the three grand questions which distinguish the reign of George the Third were discussed in Parliament, the strenuous and decided part taken by the Earl of Chatham changed the secret attacks of the ministry into open ones, for his dismissal from office had been projected by Lord Bute from the king's first accession. The young monarch's mother incessantly sounded in the ears of her son this short but emphatic maxim, "*George ! be KING.*" The full meaning of which was,—“Be not governed by Mr. *Pitt*, as was your grandfather.” To aid this solemn injunction, Bute formed a connexion with those who were known to envy, or have a political dislike of the great minister, as the versatile Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Holland, who he knew had been borne down and humiliated, again and again, by Pitt's all-subduing oratory.

It was a darling object with the *Butean* or Leicester-House party to emancipate the crown, as they termed it, from that dependence upon the few great *whig families*, who had aided and adorned the two preceding reigns, and who derived their weight and consequence from the revolution of 1688,—a work of their hands which put an end to the Stuart race of kings, and placed the ancestors of George the Third on the throne of Great Britain.

In spite of calumniating pamphlets and scandalous insinuations, Mr. Pitt, though aware of the intrigues against him, calmly maintained his station ; while the king himself never failed to pay him the ostensible deference of a son to a father, which, on a certain occasion, induced Lord Chatham to say, that “his Majesty was the greatest courtier in his court.”

We have mentioned already the unanimity of the Parliament during Pitt's happy administration. It was in a degree

wonderful. *Lord Chesterfield* says, in a letter to his son, "The estimates for the expenses of the year 1759, are made up; I have seen them; and what do you think they amount to?—No less than *twelve millions three hundred thousand pounds*; a most incredible sum, and yet already all subscribed, and even more offered! The unanimity, in the House of Commons, in voting such a sum, and such forces both by sea and land, is not less astonishing. This is Mr. Pitt's doings, 'and is marvellous in our eyes.' " *

In another letter, six weeks after, his Lordship says, "There never was so quiet, or so silent a session of Parliament as the present. Mr. Pitt declares only what he would have them do, and they do it *nemine contradicente* (Mr. Viner only excepted), but *nemine quicquid dicente*."

Soon after George the Third had taken that, for himself, fatal step, the dissolution of Pitt's *unanimous* Parliament, Mr. Legge was dismissed from the chancellorship of the exchequer.† This gentleman was of an ancient and noble family; born in the same year with Mr. Pitt. He first entered the navy, but soon left it, and became the domestic and confidential secretary of the famous *Sir Robert Walpole*; and had the extraordinary good fortune to be much commended by his son, Horace Walpole, who rarely praised any one. Mr. Legge possessed sufficient good qualities to recommend him to general and particular esteem, beside the association of his name with that of Lord Chatham, during whose administration his talents and integrity as chancellor of the exchequer were most usefully exerted in supporting the Herculean meas-

* Letter 348.

† The *Exchequer* is the court in England to which are brought all the revenues belonging to the crown. It consists of two parts, whereof one dealeth specially in the hearing and deciding of all causes appertaining to the king's coffers. The other is called the receipt of the exchequer, which is properly employed in the receiving and paying of money. It is also a court of record, wherein all causes touching the revenues of the crown are handled.—*Harris*.

ures of that minister. When this able man, of inflexible honor and exemplary in all the relations of domestic and public life, was suddenly dismissed from office, it was pulling away one of Mr. Pitt's props in the exercise of his most laborious and complicated function as prime minister. JUNIUS, in his *Letter* to the *King*, mentions the dismissal of the chancellor in terms of displeasure. To render the remark more pointed, he adds, in a note, "One of the first acts in the present reign was to dismiss Mr. Legge, because he had, some years before, refused to yield his interest in Hampshire to a Scotchman recommended by Lord Bute."

In the same celebrated letter JUNIUS says to the King,—
 "To the same early influence [*viz.* Bute's], we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share, not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne *the whole system of government was altered*, not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor."

What seemed to fill up the measure of disgust to running over, was the appointment of *Lord Barrington* to succeed the able and virtuous Mr. Legge. And it is remarkable, that JUNIUS has emptied his vials of wrath upon this nobleman, who, he declares, has the blackest heart of any man in the kingdom. His indignation, and his contempt of Barrington, are worth the reader's notice in this inquiry.

Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt left their advice in writing with the council, respecting a prompt declaration of war against Spain; which being rejected by the king, they resigned their places. At this time, it was fashionable at the levee to shudder at the horrors of war; and to commiserate poor Britannia, bleeding at every pore, to gratify the ambition of *one* man! England was represented as fast ruining by her victories; and Archbishop Secker, deceived by this court cant, imbibed great hopes of directing the young king, like a confessor, through the influence of his religion, and he accordingly visited

him daily. But the Defender of the Faith stuck close to his prayer-book without wandering into new superstitions, so that the second man in the established national church of England could only join in the then fashionable denunciation of the sinful practice of war, and pray for the "*scattering of those that delighted in it.*" *

It is curious that the pious king could relish no war except that against his own subjects in America, and *that* he highly enjoyed upon every gleam of success.

In the new order of things, Henry Fox (Lord Holland), Lord Chatham's old school-fellow, attached himself to Lord Bute, through whose influence he attained the important station of *manager* of the House of Commons; an officer unknown to the English constitution, and unheard of in these United States, and, as far as we can learn, an excrescence not belonging to the healthy body of the state, but a redundant or morbid fungus, generated by corruption, arising from errors in the first concoction, and affecting all the subsequent ones. However incredible it may appear to the American reader, we can assure him, that such a privy purse-holder is selected by the ministry of the British kings, and that the post is an object of ardent contention among men of high station. It is usually given to some Secretary of State. His business is to distribute among those members of the House who have no ostensible places, sums of money, over and above contracts, lottery tickets, and other douceurs, with the only condition of—" *Give us your vote.*"

Amidst this flagrant depravity and systematic bribery the proud *City* of LONDON remained pure, and free from suspicion. Habitual mercantile honor pervaded her politics, the offspring of that wise maxim, "Honesty is the best policy," while all around her were bartering honor for gold. The Earl of Chatham, both before and after he attained a seat in the House of Peers, extended a marked attention to the city of London.

* Psalm 68.

Since the dissolute times of Charles the Second, it had been fashionable at the west end of the town, and among courtiers, to laugh at the city authorities, and ridicule the annual parade and gorgeous exhibition of the riches, privileges, and freedom of that matchless emporium, which the celebrated *Linnaeus* denominated, with his characteristic felicity, the "*punctum vite in vitello orbis*." Our great statesman viewed his natal city in the same point of view; at which we wonder not; for where upon this globe can we find a city capable of such a demonstration of wealth, liberty, and influence, as London? This metropolis was a counter-balance to the alarming encroachments of the crown during the first twenty years of the reign of George the Third. In the year 1770, the Earl of Chatham said in the House of Lords,—“When I mentioned the Livery of London, I thought I saw a sneer upon some faces; but let me tell you, my Lords, though I have the honor to sit in this House as a Peer of the realm, coinciding with these honest citizens in opinion, I am proud of the honor of associating my name with theirs. And let me tell the noblest of you all, it would be an honor to you. The Livery of London were respectable long before the reformation. The Lord Mayor of London was a Principal among the twenty-five Barons who received *Magna Charta* from King John, and they have ever since been considered to have a principal weight in all the affairs of government.”

The peerage conferred upon Pitt, with a pension proper to support that rank, was blazoned abroad, by those very hireling writers who were paid for abusing him as minister. They represented him as an apostate, a deserter of the cause of the people, and his pension a vile bargain for abandoning the public interest. Such reiterated accusations at length made an unfavorable impression on the minds of some who ought to have spurned the calumny. This induced Lord Chatham to give a full explanation of the reason of his conduct to the City of London. Whereupon the authorities of it addressed him as follows.

“The CITY of LONDON, as long as they have any memory, cannot forget that you accepted the seals when this nation was in the most deplorable circumstances to which any country can be reduced ;—our armies were beaten, our navy inactive, our trade exposed to the enemy, our credit, as if we expected to become bankrupts, sunk to the lowest pitch, so that there was nothing to be found but despondency at home, and contempt abroad.

“The CITY must also for ever remember, that when you resigned the seals, our armies and navies were victorious, our trade secure and flourishing more than in peace ; our public credit restored, and people readier to lend than ministers to borrow ; that there was nothing but exultation at home, confusion and despair among our enemies, amazement and veneration among all neutral nations :—that the French were reduced so low as to sue for peace, which we, from humanity, were willing to grant, though their haughtiness was too great, and our successes too many, for any terms to be agreed on. Remembering this, the City cannot but lament that you have quitted the helm. But if knaves have taught fools to call your resignation (when you can no longer procure the same success, being prevented from pursuing the same measures) a desertion of the public, and to look upon you for accepting a reward, which can scarce bear that name, in the light of a pensioner, the City of London hope they shall not be ranked by you among the one or the other. They are truly sensible that, though you cease to guide the helm, you have not deserted the vessel, and that, pensioner as you are, your inclination to promote the public good is still only to be equalled by your ability ; that you sincerely wish success to the new pilot, and will be ready, not only to warn him and the crew of rocks and quicksands, but to assist in bringing the ship through the storm into a safe harbour.”

If Lord Chatham was highly honored in his own country, he was scarcely less so in this. No name upon earth was more venerated in America than *William Pitt*, so long as

I can remember.* Whether when "the great Commoner" was created a Peer he sunk his great name in that of *Chatham*, is not for me to say. To us who know nothing of heraldry, and who dwell in a *peerless* country, the title of Chatham seems more appropriate to the famous Dutch admiral *De Ruyter* † and his family, than to the first statesman and orator of the British nation. Honors appear strangely conferred and withheld in England. Who did most service to the realm, and honor to the nation, *John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough*, or *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*? For the first, the nation built a superb and very costly palace. To the latter was given an inferior title, and a pension smaller than that bestowed on Sir Robert Walpole. However Chatham's great mind may have succeeded in restraining the expression of his disgust, it must have been grating to his fiery temper to see the very best fruits of the conquests achieved under his direction, given back to France and to Spain, ‡ for money to pamper individuals. §

If the world have execrated the wretch who, to eternize his name, burnt a most gorgeous temple of antiquity, what should Englishmen say of him who should prostrate their temple of fame and honor? Who could have felt this so keenly as the prime architect of it himself, the Earl of Chatham?

The Earl of Chesterfield, who, without loving Mr. Pitt, greatly admired him, says to his son, that, "on his becoming Earl of Chatham, he had a *fall up stairs*, and has done himself

* Sixty years ago, the most frequent signs at the inns and taverns in New England were *Mr. Pitt*—and the *King of Prussia*.

† In 1667 Admiral de Ruyter sailed up the river Medway and burnt Chatham, at that time the principal station of the Royal navy, and within 30 miles of London, together with several of their first-rate and other men of war, and returned in triumph to Amsterdam, where is a superb marble monument erected to his honor.

‡ As the island of *Cuba*; a future Atlantic kingdom in itself.

§ See the examination of Dr. Musgrave before the House of Commons, recorded in a note to the XXII. Chapter of "*Almon's Anecdotes and Speeches of Lord Chatham*."

so much hurt that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. Every body is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been *duped by cunning*. But be it what it will, he is now only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt, in any respect whatever. To withdraw, in the fullness of his power and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons, which procured him his power, and which could alone ensure it to him, and to go into that hospital of incurables, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could have made me believe it. There is one bad sign for Lord Chatham, in his new dignity, which is, that all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it; and all his friends are stupefied and dumfounded." This is not the first time, the public has seen that Lord Chesterfield erred in judgment. He had no scales or standard by which to determine the sterling value of Lord Chatham.

During the years 1766 and 1767, Lord Chatham suffered grievously from erratic gout, with its usual concomitant, dejection of spirits. He resorted to Bath, where was Lord Chesterfield with the same disorder, who writes to his son, Philip Stanhope, that "Mr. Pitt keeps his bed here with a very real gout, and not a political one, as is often suspected." More than a year after, December 19, 1767, he writes again from the same place. "Lord Chatham's physician, Dr. —, had very ignorantly checked a coming fit of the gout, and scattered it about his body, and it fell particularly on his *nerves*, so that he continues exceedingly *vaporish*. He would neither see nor speak to any body while he was here. This time twelve-month, he was here in good health and spirits; but for these last eight months he has been absolutely invisible to his most intimate friends; he would receive no letters, nor so much as open any packet about business." In another letter, January 29, 1768, Chesterfield says, "Lord Chatham is at his re-purchased house at Hayes, but sees no mortal. Some say he has a fit of the gout, which would

probably do him good ; but many think that his worst complaint is in his head, which I am afraid is too true."

When Lord Chatham resorted for the the last time to Bath, he was indeed a sick man. His constitution appeared to be giving way to a depression of spirits and a corresponding weakness of mind. His whole system seemed so concussated, that his physicians at Bath declared their despair of his life. Whenever a very great man in high station happens to be afflicted with those symptoms that naturally belong to three-score years of age, his enemies, at once, attribute them to a troubled mind operating upon the body, and not, as in nine instances in ten, to the body operating on the mind. The concussion of an originally strong constitution, early shattered by hereditary gout, was exultingly attributed by his Lordship's foes to chagrin and mortification, at seeing the political world going on without him, when in fact it was the natural effect of a cruel chronic disease, making its attack in the narrowest and most dangerous defile of adult life.

The source or head-quarters of the gout is in the centre of our bodies, chiefly in the prime organ of digestion, and manifests itself by what the old school of medicine denominated, happily enough, an error or defect in the first concoction, producing derangement in all the other functions, even to that of intellect. During the alteration in our bodies by the course of time and the changing events of life, the *vires medicatrices naturæ* exercise their powers from this centre,—this focus, hearth, or fire-place of our tabernacle ; hence the ebbing and flowing of the tide of spirits in most gouty subjects ; hence the fiery rage of the poet and the orator ; hence the deep, atrabilarious gloom of the hypochondriac. Lord Chatham's physicians did not sufficiently consider, that the noble sufferer had arrived at that ticklish period of man's life, that critical round in the ladder of our mortal progression, which many never get over, and few pass without a violent struggle. This is not an astrological whim, sprouting out of the Pythagorean doctrine of the mystical number seven misunderstood,

but grounded in nature and confirmed by close observation. It arrested the attention of Plato, of Cicero, and Aulus Gellius, and several of the Grecian writers on medicine. It is a change in the *male* system without destroying man's identity, and commonly occurs about every seventh year; sometimes short of it, sometimes beyond it.

It is between the twenty-ninth and the thirty-sixth year, that the vigor of the body and the powers of the mind generally unite to render man capable of the greatest exertion of both.

At the age of forty-two there is generally a visible alteration. The veins on the back of the hands appear larger and fuller. Apoplexies very rarely occur before this period, and bleeding at the nose and from the lungs seldom after it.

In his fiftieth year, a man discovers some waning in his memory. Still this period is dignified by gravity and thoughtfulness. Between this period and the next, sedentary men very often experience a loss of appetite, disturbed sleep, and a diminution of their usual cheerfulness, and have a sallow aspect, or an ash-colored visage, accompanied with inactivity, a lack of resolution, and apprehensions of evil from slight causes. The sailor, the soldier, and the hard-working mechanic now know the luxury of a seat. If there be no chronic inflammation, no swelling of the legs, shortness of breath, or signs of organic *lesion* in any of those viscera destined to carry on the unconscious operations of the animal economy, the subject recovers from this serious spell of *moulting*, which has given rise to the popular expression, that such a one has "taken a new lease of his life," seeing he has increased in flesh and firmness.

Then comes the age of *Sixty-Three*, long celebrated as the grand climacteric, being noted by Hippocrates and by Aristotle. Suetonius tells us, that he congratulated his nephew on his passing one of these stages in safety. Looking beyond theories and written authorities, let us try to construe some passages in the Book of Nature on a subject that comes home to the bosoms of us all. At this important period of our lives,

the man heretofore plump appears to shrink ; his eyes are suffused with tears, but from no emotion of the mind ; every visible part becomes less, lean, and extenuated. It is doubtless the same with parts and organs concealed from sight. The voice becomes smaller, the hair loses its color, firmness, and elasticity, first on the temples, called by the Romans *tempora*, or the footmarks of Time. As the shrinkage, dryness, and leanness prevail, wrinkles multiply, and the lower limbs lose their wonted stability.

We have reason for believing, that similar changes take place in other animals. We notice those only which we have domesticated, especially that tribe of birds, which, being without a specific name in our language, are therefore called *fowls*, or cocks and hens. These are well known to undergo a change in three hundred and sixty days, resembling that to which we have alluded in the human species. During this crisis, the noble game-cock loses his courage and fierceness, and the more weakly ones sometimes die in the struggle. No feeding can maintain the vigor of the first, nor care preserve the latter from drooping. The female as well as the male bird is disordered and unsociable. Poulterers give these anonymous birds aromatic articles and spices to help them by a due stimulus to go speedily through this renovating process. The woodcock tribe lose so entirely their peculiar effluvium, that the dogs cannot smell and hunt them out. These birds appear to cast off their old feathers with pain and fever ; after which their feathers acquire fresh brilliancy and beauty, their sociability increases, accompanied with a florid turgescence of their combs and gills, and the whole flock seem teeming with life, and with a disposition to perpetuate it.

All these things, being taken into consideration, will lead us to recognise and admire a law of nature to which all must submit, from the brightest of the human kind to the humble animal we destroy for food.

The melancholy condition of the illustrious subject of this imperfect sketch arose most probably from corporeal causes,

depending on the living fibre and the living fluids, which, when diseased, operate on the mind and on the body, or both at once, and this, to a certain extent, is death. What could be expected from a being long tortured with pain, and manacled by infirmity, with a mind in consequence of it depressed below its natural greatness and self-command ?

In the gloomy month of February, 1767, Lord Chatham attempted to return from Bath to London, but was compelled to stop at Marlborough, where he was confined a month ; and then came on to Hampstead,* but in a very enfeebled state, where he resided some time. While there, the King sent almost every day to inquire after his health, in soothing terms of esteem, respect, and consolation.

Very few public men pass through life without a dark cloud hanging over some part of it. The heretofore strong and clear mind of the Earl of Chatham now appeared weakened and perplexed, from physical causes already touched upon. The mighty statesman, who astonished and awed Europe, and subdued France and Spain, now bent under the weight of years and disorder. His popularity was diminished by his acceptance of the peerage, and his constitutional malady unfitted him for business. The national affairs appeared to be again in as gnarled a state as when he was called to the helm by George the Second, in the year 1757. Lord Chesterfield speaks thus of them to his son.† “ Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments ; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and *his people*, but they could by no means agree, and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, ‡ so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see whom Lord Chatham will take in ; for some he must have ; even *he* cannot be alone *contra mundum*. They propagated a report, for a short time believed, that *the Earl of Chatham had joined the Earl of*

* A pleasant village in the vicinity of London.

† Letter 372.

‡ The Duke's country residence.

Bute." At this time our great statesman's temper was evidently soured. He was constitutionally irritable, quick, and impetuous. Long habit of dictation in rapid business, great superiority in debate and of mind, gave an air of austerity, if not hauteur, to his manners, and precluded the policy of a convenient condescension to the minutiae of politeness, of which he was a complete master whenever he chose. This inattention to the small things of the philosopher, and the great things of Lord Chesterfield, occasionally chafed the feelings of some of his most valuable friends, and produced a temporary coolness between him and Lord Temple. The excitability of a *podagric* is proverbial; and when vexation and disappointments, impaired friendship and resentment, added to the physical causes already mentioned, preyed upon the nerves of Lord Chatham, we wonder that he ever recovered; yet after all, he surmounted the struggle, and came out, like the king of birds, after *moulting*, with renewed beauty and increased vigor, and demonstrated his complete restoration in the House of Lords, by transcending all his former eloquence on one of the most important subjects ever agitated in the British Senate.†

† The American question.

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM, CONTINUED.

PREVIOUSLY to Lord Chatham's resorting to Bath, he had a conference in the royal closet, at the request of the sovereign, respecting a new ministry. The result was a precipitate formation of one, rendered famous by Mr. Burke's description of it, as a piece of diversified Mosaic—a mere tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; “king's friends” and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies.

While Lord Chatham was sick at Bath, and his recovery despaired of, the administration was without a leader. The right honorable *Charles Townshend* assumed, in some degree, the reins of government; and he, in conjunction with General *Conway*, meditated some alliances, with a view to establishing the power of the former. In a word, Mr. Townshend, a gentleman of brilliant talents and lofty views, resolved to seize this opportunity to fill the place, which it was thought death would

soon make. He therefore instantly joined the court, with the most full and explicit declaration of sincerity, and his alliance was favorably received. But, reader! mark the end of these things, and learn another lesson of wisdom! Charles Townshend died after a short illness, and Lord Chatham recovered!

Lord Charlemont, in a letter to Mr. Flood, dated London, February the 19th, 1767, says, "Lord Chatham is daily expected, and till he arrives nothing worth informing you of is likely to happen." In another of April the 9th, 1767, that nobleman says,—“Lord Chatham is still minister, but how long he may continue so is a problem that would pose the deepest politician. The opposition grows more and more violent, and seems to gain ground; his ill health as yet prevents his doing any business. The ministry is divided into as many parties as there are men in it; all complain of his want of participation. Charles Townshend is at open war; Conway is angry; Lord Shelburne out of humor, and the Duke of Grafton by no means pleased.” So much for Burke’s tessellated pavement; a metaphor borrowed from Lord Chesterfield.

The high blown hopes of Mr. Townshend and his friends were blasted by his death, while Lord Chatham lay sick at Hampstead. Had he lived, he would very probably have been First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Yorke * his Chancellor.

We left Lord Chatham very sick at Hampstead. The king sent almost every day to inquire after his health, desiring him not to be concerned at his confinement, or absence from public business, for that he was resolved to support him.

In consequence of the apprehension of resignations, his Majesty, a few days after the rising of Parliament, wrote a letter *with his own hand* to Lord Chatham, then confined to his bed, acquainting him with his resolution to make alterations in his ministry, and desiring his Lordship’s advice and assistance. To which mark of respect and condescension, Chatham returned a *verbal* answer “*that such was his ill state of health,*

* This gentleman destroyed himself. See JUNIUS.

that his Majesty must not expect from him any farther advice or assistance in any arrangement whatever."

On which the reverend Francis Thackeray remarks, that it is scarcely to be conceived, that the same ardent and high-spirited minister, who formerly retired from office because he was not allowed to guide the measures of the country, should have sent such an answer to his sovereign, without accompanying it by the resignation of his seal. But this reverend gentleman should, as an historian, have considered the well known impression on the mind of Lord Chatham respecting the King's sincerity; and as a minister of religion he should have known, from his parochial duties, that the bed of sickness, and, in this case, apparent death, was neither the place nor the time for compliments, or the multiplication of words. While a clerical historian holds up, to his listening flock, *Death* as the *King of Terrors!* he should praise God in their hearing, that he is also the *terror of kings!* with whom there is no trifling!

The Earl of Chatham, so much superior to other men, was not exempted from the frailties of us all. He had arrived at that commonly trying period of man's existence, considered, from the earliest records of medicine, climacterical, when he is most liable to stumble down the hill of life,—a hazardous epoch, when an hereditary or constitutional disorder meets less resistance from those repelling powers of nature implanted within us to ward off premature destruction. Lord Chatham had "*originally a healthy, sanguine constitution.*" But who can reason down his shattered nerves to quietude? or argue coolly and justly with his nervous symptoms? or, to express the same idea in better words,

"Who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?
Or wallow naked in December's snow
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat?"*

* Shakspeare.

The Earl of Chatham met that odious visitant to pre-eminent distinction in its wane of power, "the marble-hearted fiend, Ingratitude." Lord Charlemont says, in a letter to Mr. Flood in Ireland, dated in February, 1767, "There has been, upon various topics, a great deal of conversation in the House of Commons, but no divisions. One thing, however, appears very extraordinary, if not indecent; no member of the opposition speaks without directly abusing Lord Chatham, and no friend ever rises to take his part. *Qui non defendit alio culpante* is scarce a degree less black than *absentem qui rodit amicum*. Is it possible that such a man can be friendless?"

As to the period of which we have been speaking, political writers of all parties agree, that there never was a time, in the reign of any of the Georges, when discontents were more generally prevalent, or when the people were more awakened to them. The causes have been explained in a masterly manner by Mr. Burke.

Lord Chatham's disordered body and distempered mind needed tranquillity to recruit both. In the *podagric*, the total absence of arthritic pains diminishes the vigor of the mind. What is that in the gouty man which counteracts sluggishness of intellect, and wages war with stupidity? It resembles the hectic of genius in all its high pulsations of poetry and eloquence. It would seem that the great minister was all placidity with his domestic connexions, and towards his sovereign all deference and respect, whatever he was toward those with whom he had official business. He sought repose in the bosom of his beloved family in his re-purchased family residence at Hayes; and this calm retreat in a favorite spot had the happiest effects in restoring his mind, at least, to its pristine vigor. But can any one believe, that the capacious and elastic mind of Lord Chatham was as acquiescent as his body during this retirement; that he would allow "the sensible, warm emotion to become there a kneaded clod?" The idea is incredible! Within three months from this time,

he returned the privy-seal to the king by the hand of his friend, *Lord Camden*.

Behold then JUNIUS BRUTUS in retirement, brooding over the disgraces of his country and his own personal wrongs, meditating her deliverance, and fostering his own feelings of revenge,—always strong, but now rendered acrimonious by age and disease. It was at this awful period of public discontent and keen personal feelings, that JUNIUS burst upon the British public with the suddenness and violence of an American thundergust ! *

As Lord Chatham had not the meekness of *Moses*, nor the coolness of *Washington*, we may imagine what were the feelings of the offended minister. A man strong-willed, self-sufficient, and powerfully gifted, naturally imperious, and morbidly impatient, in the decline of life, racked with incurable gout, and living a life of decrepitude and self-denial, without one cheering prospect in his political horizon, must close his lips in everlasting silence, or if he speak at all, must “speak daggers.” Under these circumstances, reflect a moment on his incessant labors, great occasional exertions, and eminent hazards ; the plans of conquest he formed, and the victories achieved in consequence of them ; the best fruits of which were given back to France and to Spain for money—yes, for money to pamper the pride and passions of the King’s and Lord Bute’s friends, for the nation had none of it.† Consider also the *native* king, with good intentions, hurried on to error by an intriguing German mother, inculcating obstinacy under the guise of firmness, while a sordid Scotchman was littering his head with trifles, and stimulating him to exert all his constitutional powers, and somewhat more, to crush a private individual, the abetted champion of the people’s rights. ‡

* January 29, 1769.

† See the examination of Dr. Musgrave before the House of Commons.

‡ John Wilkes.

Perhaps no man could have felt all these mortifying circumstances so keenly as he who had directed the successful war against the House of Bourbon, conquering the French islands in the West Indies, and all their possessions in the East, and dispossessing them entirely of the vast region under the name of *Canada*. The honor and glory of old England lay so near Lord Chatham's heart, that they constituted his ruling passion. Next to that in his affections were these North American colonies. Take likewise into view the dark and rolling clouds rapidly approaching from this country, after George Grenville became minister, threatening a dreadful storm; and we shall be convinced, that such a temperament as Chatham's could not possibly sink, at once, into a state of apathy to the manifold dangers and disgraces of the nation. This would be to suppose with the sordid vulgar, that Pitt's patriotic spirit evaporated when he became a peer.

The condition of this retired statesman was, in a degree, deplorable. Disease forbade him the benefit of travelling, prohibited hunting, and the easier gesture of ordinary horse-back exercise; and, what marks his bodily decrepitude still stronger, he was unable to perform on any musical instrument, so cruelly had the gout fed on his extremities. How could such an active mind of ethereal fire fill up the hours? What, think ye, were the *horæ politicæ* of such an experienced personage? Thought, keen thought, and alternately painful and gratifying reminiscences; for none could suppose, that the virtuous Earl of Chatham could, like too many disgusted men, "steep his senses in forgetfulness."

If we consider human nature in its brightest point of view,—genius disciplined by careful education, as that of Lord Chatham's, we cannot suppose that, after he withdrew from the turmoils of a complicated office encumbered with deep responsibility, he could have sunk, all at once, to indolence. He had raised his country, in the short space of three years, from depression and disgrace to exaltation and glory, and that by force of his superior genius and spotless moral character. His plans

were the wisest, his instruments the best, and his success the completest of any prime minister's on the annals of fame. Can it be believed, that a statesman thus endowed, and with transcendent eloquence, should have left behind him no other productions of his pen than a few very tame, if not lean, letters to his son and his nephew, compositions which many a mother in old England and New could have equalled? To such a mirror of eloquence "*vita sine literis mors est.*" It is no way probable, that the ardent mind became suddenly cold, that the strong and burning wave of political zeal stopped at once. These sudden stagnations occur, only from an instantaneous stroke, impairing at once the mainspring of the intellectual organ; whereas Chatham, it is well known, blazed forth in Parliament, two or three years after, stronger and brighter than ever. Nay, in 1770, he denounced the conduct of the cabinet in such a bitter and overwhelming torrent of eloquence, as induced several in the ministry to resign their offices, and sadly distressed the monarch himself. It was when the king passionately dismissed the *Lord Chancellor Camden*, the intimate friend of Lord Chatham. This was a period of confusion and distress at court, from occurrences which rendered the primary object of it a subject of commiseration and tears. It was when difficulties, perplexities, and embarrassments led the monarch to send for the Hon. Mr. Yorke, to whom were offered the great seals. By long and very earnest entreaties, which at length overpowered his reluctance, he was compelled in a manner to accept them. The infliction of this high honor compelled the unhappy man, soon after, to put an end to his mortal existence.*—Who can wonder, that "uneasy is the head that wears a crown?"

Few people in this country are aware of the deep impression made upon the minds of people of the first rank by the

* JUNIUS, alluding to the violent death of Mr. Yorke, says, "The most secret particulars of this detestable transaction shall, in due time, be given to the public. The people shall know what kind of man they have to deal with." Is that *due time* not yet arrived?

Letters in question. Hear what the eminent English moralist, the very able, rough, and scragged *Samuel Johnson* says of the author of them. "JUNIUS burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him, as a monster makes a show." This is unjust, untrue, and abusive. It was not the rabble, but the deep-thinking aristocracy, both whigs and tories, who were moved the most by the voice of JUNIUS. Dr. Johnson adds,—“He is an unusual phenomenon, on which some have gazed with wonder and some with terror, but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He soon will be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined; and what folly has taken for a comet, that, ‘from its flaming hair, shook pestilence and war,’ inquiry will find to be only a meteor, formed by the vapors of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction, which, after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us inquiring why we regarded it.” What labor,—what painful straining to evacuate a hard, mephitic paragraph! Compare it with the ease, elegance, dignity, and precision of most of the pages of the writer he reviles. The *Rambler*, in pursuing his figure, lost his chemistry, and forgot that effervescence and putrefaction are steps to regeneration. The literary giant adds,—“JUNIUS has sometimes made his satire felt; but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigor of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him who knows his company, it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask. While he walks, like Jack the giant-killer, in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength.” All this appears like a day-laboring man working for wages. The same renowned critic proceeds thus,—“Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract from his wit the vivacity of insolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the sympathetic favor of plebeian malignity;—I do not say that we shall leave him noth-

ing ; the cause that I defend scorns the help of falsehood ; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise ? ” That is in substance to say,—Kill the lion, and give his flesh to the dogs,—break all his bones, and pick out their marrow, and what will you leave of the monarch of the woods but his matchless skin ?

Mr. Burke, who never sold his brilliant talents, and who, Johnson thought, was the only man capable of writing the Letters in question, took a different and more honorable view of JUNIUS. He speaks with astonishment of his hardihood, and admiration of his talents, knowledge, and integrity. That JUNIUS, in a visor and complete armor of polished steel, was a terrific object, appears from other evidence than that of Burke, and the affected contempt of Johnson. Kings, Lords, and Commons, the army, the literary aristocracy of Britain, the autocracy of the people,—all, all felt the power of a *free press*, when wielded by the hand of this very able and fearless champion of liberty. Instead of the transitory effect of the principles of Junius, predicted by Dr. Johnson, they are still felt. Their deep impression yet remains in Great Britain. Nor is this all. The same spirit even now walks these shores of the Atlantic, “ *magni nominis UMBRA*.” Nay, more. FRANCE is wide awake, where

“ Millions of souls
Shall feel its power,
And bear it down
To millions more.”

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM, CONTINUED.

GREAT BRITAIN, at peace with all the world, her own subjects excepted, was, between the years 1767 and 1770, sadly perturbed by *Wilkes* and *Liberty*. Behind the stalking-horse of the *Middlesex election* marched the formidable corps of ousted and resentful whigs. To this respectable English force was opposed a Scotch one, commanded by the Earl of Bute, assisted by Lord Mansfield. This army of raw troops was rendered in a degree formidable, by having, as in the civil war with Charles the First, a royal generalissimo at its head. What it lacked in experience, discipline, and steady Roman valor, was made up by the magical circumstance of royal influence. In the first army John Wilkes was a daring and very successful partisan officer ; while in the latter, Mansfield was at the head of the sappers and miners.

The first Parliament, in the reign of George the Third, was dissolved in March, 1768. Of this Parliament it is observed by a sensible and candid historian,* that it exhibited no distinguishing marks of legislative wisdom ; that its chief objects were individual prosecution and colonial regulations ; in which its members proceeded with the passion of partisans, and not the cool policy of senators ; and towards these colonies with a succession of contradictory measures. “ They irritated,” says the historian, “ conciliated, and irritated again, and left the

* Dr. Bisset's History of George III.

colonies ill affected towards this country, sowing the seeds of the American war." The Commons, raised, according to their own writers, from a hot-bed of corruption, seemed busily employed in sawing off the limb of the tree which bore them, or, in plainer terms, voting away their own privileges to gratify the ministry.

Lord Chatham, deeply imbued with constitutional principles and the purest patriotic spirit, advocated the *cause* of John Wilkes; he viewed him merely as an *Englishman* possessing certain *rights*, without any regard to his merits or demerits as a man. In this point of view only, the question was contemplated by Lord Chatham, and precisely so considered by JUNIUS; while the new-fangled Parliament talked nonsense about reformation, when their only rule of conduct was to act in direct opposition to the harmonious one which terminated with the power of Pitt. While the popular party adored Wilkes, worshipping they knew not what, the partisans of the court spoke of him as the vilest incendiary. "For my own part," says Lord Chatham, "I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best." It is presumed that the reader bears in mind, that the resentment of the people arose from the House of Commons expelling Mr. Wilkes after his repeated election by the county of Middlesex, which deprived its electors of the free choice of a representative. On this occasion Lord Chatham said in the House of Peers, "I have considered the matter with most serious attention; and as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt, that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought, in our address [then under debate], to state the matter to the king." But his motion for it was negatived.

On the 22d of January, 1770, the Marquis of *Rockingham* moved for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation.

The object of his speech was to show, "that the present unhappy condition of affairs and the universal discontent of the people did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had grown up by degrees, from the moment of his majesty's accession to the throne ; that the person, in whom his majesty then confided, had introduced a total change in the old system of English government ; that they had adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of the country, viz. ' that the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed ' ; and he could trace the operation of this principle through every act of government since the accession, in which those persons could be supposed to have any influence. Their first exertion of the prerogative was to make a peace contrary to the wishes of the nation, and on terms totally disproportioned to the success of the war ; but as they felt themselves unequal to the conduct of a war, they thought a peace, on any conditions, necessary for their own security and permanence in administration. The Marquis then took notice of those odious, tyrannical acts of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained. And he mentioned the *general sweep from office* through every branch and department of administration ; the removes not merely confined to the higher employments, but carried down, with the minutest cruelty, to the lowest offices of the state ; and numberless innocent families, which had subsisted on salaries from fifty to two hundred pounds a year, turned out to misery and ruin, with as little regard to the rules of justice as to the common feelings of compassion." *

* Here we may remark, that the cruel and unjust system of removals, down to the lowest offices, which has been pursued here within the last two years (1829 and 1830), and has created general disgust throughout the United States, has not even the merit of originality, but is copied from the system introduced by the Earl of Bute, and pursued by George the Third to his own destruction. That wretched policy called forth the *North Briton*, and that audacious publication, JUNIUS, which led to measures that divided the empire ; otherwise America

The Duke of *Grafton* spoke next ; and after him the *Earl of Chatham* said, " My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand, capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the state. The constitution has been grossly violated. THE CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIOLATED. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them, that their complaints are regarded, and that their injuries shall be redressed. On *that* foundation, I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity. If not,—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER. I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming ; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on, according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner ; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth-right to a despotic minister, I hope, my Lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue and fairly tried between the people and the government.* My Lords, this is not the language of faction ; let it be tried by that criterion by which alone we can distinguish what is factious from what is not,—by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles ; and I

might have been a century longer dependant on the realm of Great Britain, and its sovereign might have lived out his days with *mens sana in corpore sano.*

know, that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified." *

This is direct, plain, forcible, and decisive language, the very characteristic of JUNIUS, with all his fearless spirit; and I will add, of no other writer or orator whatever, contemporary, anterior, or subsequent.

Lord Chatham retired, in 1768, to his favorite spot at Hayes, fifteen miles from London, where he saw no visitors, nor answered any letters. But when the aspect of affairs became alarming, threatening personal as well as general liberty, he left his couch of infirmity, and, repairing to Parliament, broke upon the delinquents with the energy and fire of a divinely inspired prophet, and in language as fearless. Where is there an English prose-writer who comes up to Chatham in force, fire, noble daring, and dignity of expression, exemplified in his speeches in the House of Lords,—JUNIUS *alone excepted*? Edmund Burke, abounding in lessons of civil and moral wisdom, charming with flowers and metaphors, rich in illustration, captivating in his transitions, and splendid in every thing, never dashes upon the soul with the irresistible wave of Chatham's invective;—nor does any writer,—unless we except the overwhelming rage of JUNIUS, which struck breathless King, Lords, and Commons. If Burke was the sublime and beautiful, Chatham was the sublime and terrible, and so was Junius.

Lord Chatham had a singular energy of style, and his ministers abroad at foreign courts were puzzled to clothe his ideas in any other language than his own. The Hon. Hans Stanley, who was sent to Paris in 1761 to treat of the preliminaries of peace, writes to Mr. Pitt thus,—“ Though you are extremely skilled in the French language, I believe you would find it difficult precisely to translate your own memorial; and that you would often be obliged to exercise your judgment in the choice of phrases,—as every word carries a distinct idea, which can in no other way be with equal force ex-

* Almon's Speeches of Chatham.

pressed." Is not this exactly the case with the best Letters of JUNIUS? It corresponds with the remarks we have already made on his peculiar style.*

In early life Pitt's ambition panted for the tented field; but disease pressed him into a different service; otherwise he might have taken the right of Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon, in the laurelled rank of great commanders. An overruling agency, that which gives the secret bias to the soul, instead of granting him the flying war-horse, nailed him down to his bureau; whence, though crippled, he influenced powerfully the minds of men, prescribed to departments, directed fleets and armies, guided senates, instructed monarchs, controlled nations,—Prussia by his friendship, and France by his hostility,—and caused Europe and America to acknowledge the force of his mind. Could such a mind, after these political and martial victories, sink down into torpidity in a country village, or retreat at once into a cave, there "to lie in cold obstruction and to rot?" It is incredible. That his soul of fire was not damped, the House of Peers could testify. Is it likely that such an ambitious mind would leave his fame floating on the evanescent breath of contemporary auditors, without one effort towards perpetuating his great name through ages, and without bequeathing to English posterity the principles he maintained, and his remedies against those disorders which shook the constitution of England in his own times? No! devoted to his own country, and, next to her, affectionate to this, he wrote our creed with a pen of steel upon leaves of brass.

I cannot rid myself of the long existing impression, that, when King, Councils, Ministers, Parliaments, and Livery-men refused to listen to the advice of LORD CHATHAM, he poured it into the ears of an anxious public through the medium of the press, and gave it, I had almost said, a supernatural force, by the mystery of concealment, well knowing the oracular effect of speaking from a recess which no curiosity could penetrate.

* See page 106.

That some great political writer was about to appear, who should shake all that could be shaken, was surmised, if not predicted, in Brown's Essay, entitled "*An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.*" This able writer described the unprosperous condition of his native country with a sigh, and predicted its ruin unless there should be a speedy amendment. The grand remedy, which he held up to the public, was to operate through the votes of a people uncontaminated by corruption, which had been dealt out by Sir Robert Walpole, not, as he contended, to bribe members of Parliament to vote *against*, but *according to* their conscience. Beside the redemption of the people from that system of bribery, Dr. Brown speaks of the redeeming powers of a GREAT MINISTER. After depicting his own idea of such a blessing, in the drawing of which he doubtless had in his eye the Earl of Chatham, he adds,—“There is another character belonging to a lower walk of life, which might be no less strange than that which is here delineated,—I mean the character of a POLITICAL WRITER. He would choose an untrodden path of politics, where no party-man ever dared to enter. *The undisguised freedom and boldness of his manner would please the brave, astonish the weak, and confound the guilty.* He would be called arrogant by those who call every thing arrogance that is not servility. If he writ in a period when his country was declining, while he pointed out the means from whence alone honest hope could arise, he would be charged, by scribbling sycophants, with plunging a nation in despair. As he would be defamed by the *dissolute great* without cause, so he would be applauded by an *honest* people beyond his deservings.”

Have we not here a glimpse of JUNIUS? I would not insinuate, that the eminent ecclesiastic, whom we have cited, was supernaturally endowed with the spirit of prophecy; I mean only to say, that, from his knowledge of men and things, from the throne to the cottage, from the royal fleets to the watermen on the Thames, he saw, in prospective, that concatenation of causes and effects which must lead to results the world has witnessed.

His ideal minister does honor to his judgment, and his ideal writer to his sagacity. Near the close of Dr. Brown's interesting book, he remarks, that his ideal minister *has been found*; and we say, that his ideal *great political* WRITER has also been found; and we shall try to show that they were united in the same illustrious individual.

The Letters of JUNIUS and the speeches of Lord Chatham form an epoch in the history of English literature and oratory. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, who died about a dozen years before the Rev. Dr. Brown wrote his Essay on the Manners and Principles of his own times, was a party-writer, and obtained his consequence and his church promotion, if not his fame, from that species of writing. He was celebrated for a strong, able, severe, and satirical pen, with little delicacy. Some dwell with apparent horror on what they call the malignity of JUNIUS, who is sparing of harsh epithets, compared with the harsh, indecent, and too often profane language of this church dignitary. Passing over the Dean's tory principles, we cannot but remark his severe denunciations of the Dissenters as people unworthy the blessings of liberty. Beside, his mangling satire marks him out as a literary savage; so much so, that, although he wrote in favor of the court and of the church, his sovereign was ashamed to make him a bishop. Still Swift was caressed, praised, flattered, and feared, from the throne down through the peerage and all the high offices of state. Compare the severest satires of this son of the church, with those of Junius, on the score of decorum, and be silent on the topic of invectives.

Making due allowance for the restraining rules of both Houses of Parliament, we shall find that Lord Chatham was not far behind JUNIUS in bitter sarcasms and envenomed wit. The style and spirit of their invectives, and the subjects and objects, are very similar. The Earl of Chatham was but a young member of Parliament when he castigated Mr. Walpole, then an old man, in so resentful a style as to kindle the ire of some of the most respectable gentlemen of the House of Commons.

Nor did he always spare his old schoolfellow and friend, Henry Fox, Lord Holland. We adduce these instances to meet the objection of some who contend, that Junius is too bitter, too extremely severe, to allow us to believe, that the polite Lord Chatham could be the writer of the Letters in question. Moreover does the language of the man in a mask exceed in harshness that used between the Parliament and the royalists in the time of Charles the First. JUNIUS, be sure, has sharper points, because he had more wit than the Covenanters; and if he cut deeper than Swift, it was because his weapon was higher polished and better tempered. Furthermore, does the severest language of JUNIUS surpass, or equal, that of the two celebrated Fathers of the Protestant Church, *Martin Luther* and *John Calvin*? It is the superior wit and the refined talent of the Englishman, which convey the idea of greater severity than that used by the German or the French reformer. Nay, farther still,—when holy men of old received a divine command to operate a certain end, the phraseology was their own. Hence the gloomy anger of one Prophet, and the horrid denunciations of another. What reason have we for saying, that Ezekiel had more malignity of heart than Isaiah? Lord Chatham was distinguished, above every speaker in Parliament, for severity of remark, or what Hume Campbell, unluckily, called “eternal invectives.” Yet was this nobleman of a very friendly, kind, and affectionate temper in his family, and greatly beloved by all about him; and common observation informs us, that he who is most remarkable for *copia verborum* is the most apt, when excited, to use the sharpest diction.

Some have said, that the accomplished Earl of Chatham, venerable for a rare assemblage of extraordinary virtues and talents, a nobleman in whom the world beheld honor personified, would be restrained by the offspring of them all,—*gratitude* for his hereditary coronet, and four thousand a year. This argument is more specious than solid. They who shudder at the chafed feelings of George the Third, from *truths* uttered by JUNIUS (for falsehoods cannot disturb a wise and good

man), should recollect the personal anguish of Charles the First, Louis the Sixteenth, and the Emperor Napoleon.*

As to Lord Chatham's gratitude towards his Sovereign,—in which scale was the heaviest weight of obligation? We reiterate the question; What were the national services of the Duke of Marlborough, compared with those of Chatham, who did more injury to the enemies of Great Britain in four years, than Marlborough did in ten? After all, what is *political gratitude*? Let us learn wisdom from the example of history; and turn to *Plutarch*, a great master in that school of philosophy.

From him we learn, that *Marcus Brutus* was mild in his temper, with a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure; † firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice and honor were concerned; and that the people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity. History scarcely affords us a stronger instance of kindness, partiality, and affection among great men, than that which subsisted between *Julius Cæsar* and *Marcus Brutus*. Indeed, the great intimacy between Cæsar and Servilia, the daughter of *Cato* and mother of Brutus, when the latter was born, led many to believe, that he might be Cæsar's son. When Cassius and Brutus were candidates for a very distinguished prætorship, Cæsar said,—*Cassius has the strongest reason in his favor, but Brutus must have it.*

We learn farther, from the same writer, that it was generally believed that Brutus would be nominated to succeed him; for that, when Cæsar was advised to beware of him, he laid his hand on his breast and said,—*Do not you think that Brutus will wait till I have done with this poor body?* And yet! the beloved Brutus, ornamented with every acquirement that phi-

* "I tell you with positive certainty, that our gracious [Sovereign] is as callous as a stockfish to every thing but the reproach of cowardice. That alone is able to set the humors afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week."—JUNIUS to Woodfall.

† See Langhorn's Translation.

losophy, rank, and reputation could give, and rich in the affection and confidence of Cæsar, *MURDERED HIM!*—his benefactor and friend, and, as many thought, his father.

If we have, by this historical fact, removed the stumbling-block thrown in our way, respecting the ingratitude of Chatham, Plutarch supplied both the fulcrum and the lever. He tells us, moreover, that the condition of Rome was such, that it evidently required a master; that Cæsar was no more than a tender and skilful physician, appointed by Providence to heal the distempers of the state. Yet Brutus, who must have known all this, *murdered him!*—What then is personal gratitude in the heroic heart of patriotism?

Beside, we do not, we *cannot* believe, that Lord Chatham ever felt bound in gratitude and affection towards the young successor of George the Second. He tells us, in plain terms, that he deceived him, betrayed him, and, what is never forgiven, *duped* him.* When the King wrote to Lord Chatham, while sick at Hampstead, soliciting the great statesman's advice and assistance, the proud invalid, by returning no other than a verbal answer, might have felt like Diogenes, when he requested Alexander to stand out of the sunshine,—that is, Do not deprive my fleeting soul of the sunshine of its own reflections; do not deprive me of that comfort which you cannot give. That Chatham's honors "had been dearly earned," no one will deny. Look at the history of his labors, and the fruits of them; and see who gathered these.

By what strong cords of gratitude was Brutus bound to Cæsar! What was that spirit which instigated him to destroy the life of his best friend and benefactor? We answer, Patriotism. What impelled *Junius Brutus* first to scourge, and then to put to death, his own son? Patriotism. And what moved Chatham,—if *William Pitt* and *Junius* be one and the same person,—to destroy, not the life, but the character and influence of *Grafton*, *Bute*, *Bedford*, and *Mansfield*? We

* Speech in the House of Peers, March, 1770. See also Wilkes's Letter to Junius, Sept. 12, 1771, in Woodfall's Junius.

answer, Patriotism. And what animated him, not to murder the British Cæsar, but to rouse him, alarm him, caution and advise him to return from the error of his ways, and live gloriously in the hearts of his people, and in history. His language to his Sovereign was firm, but honest; severe, yet studiously respectful. He indeed spoke daggers, but used none as Brutus did. Had Chatham, under the *shadow* of a great name, been detected for his conduct towards his King and benefactor, he might well reply, in the words of Shakspeare's Brutus,—“If there be any dear friend of Cæsar's, and that friend demand why Brutus rose against Cæsar;—this is my answer,—*Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved ENGLAND more.*”

One word more on the subject of gratitude, because it has been the bass-string which has been long harped upon in England and in America. The King of Britain is the high steward of the wealth and honors of the realm; and it is his duty to bestow them according to merit. Public servants are public creditors; and the King is the constituted paymaster. Sir Jeffery Amherst, a brave and meritorious general, who completely executed in this country, what Lord Chatham planned in England, a great favorite of Mr. Pitt and of JUNIUS, was rewarded by a peerage and pension; so likewise was Sir Guy Carlton, Admiral Nelson, and Lord George Germain. Had the King raised Pitt to a Dukedom, and the nation built him a palace equal to that at Woodstock, would it have been too much? We in these regions may view things through a cloud of ignorance; but the inequality of rewards appears strange to us. One general sits hours quietly and silently on horse-back, while the troops of several nations entrap “*the Lion of the forest,*” and the fortunate commander obtains for it the highest honors Great Britain can bestow;—honors far greater than those bestowed on a renowned Statesman, who held in his hand the balance of Europe, and the peace of the world;—the man who, by his capacious mind, stern virtue, disinterestedness, unwearied industry, and patriotism

that never faltered, acquired more influence and control, than Cardinal Wolsey with all his riches, host of servile dependents, boundless royal favor, and every aid the superstition of the day could afford. And yet Chatham was comparatively poor; and, but for individual private bounty, would have been really so.

If you compare the state of affairs in the latter part of the reign of the Second George with the condition of things in the early part of the reign of his grandson, you will admit that the difference was enough to engender disgust in the breast of the prime agent of the nation's former glory. The retrospect and the prospect must have made an equally sad impression. He must have known thoroughly the character of the young monarch in all its unyielding self-sufficiency, from his pupilage to his accession in 1761, and through the intervening space to 1769.

Conceive, then, a veteran Statesman, a very well-studied philologist and consummate orator, determined to save his country from farther degradation and disgrace. What mode would such a character naturally adopt? Not that of a formal audience with a mother-ruled King, when he would have been treated with every external token of profound respect and sign of deference, but with a fixed resolution not to follow his advice, or pay any regard to his warnings. Would he continue his solemn and pathetic expostulations in the House of Peers? He knew, alas! that House too well. Would he address the people through the medium of the press, adding to it the weight of his own great name? Assuredly not; for, ever since George the Third came to the throne, a variety of means had been used to depreciate Lord Chatham's wisdom, lessen his worth, detract from his merit, defame his high character, and misrepresent his motives and ultimate views.* It appears from the daily publications of those times, that every contrivance which malice, jealousy, fear, revenge,

* When Dr. Johnson submitted certain partisan essays to *Lord North*, there was this sentence, which his Lordship erased from the manuscript,—“Perhaps the Americans would like a *King WILLIAM*.”

and female spite could devise, or bribery effectuate, was called into requisition to destroy the influence of the great Statesman. Rumor, swelled by spies prowling around his habitation, represented the great man with unstrung nerves, and every faculty prostrated by paroxysms resembling hysterics, in which he would weep like a child. This was spread so far and wide, that his famous contemporary and great admirer, the renowned *Frederic, King of Prussia*, has mentioned it in some of his letters. All this is possible; for Lord Chatham's hereditary disease, joined to a supervening disorder, and his critical period of life, shook his susceptible nervous system, as the fever shook that of *Julius Cæsar* in Spain;

“ When that same eye, whose bend did awe the world,
Did lose his lustre. —————

Ay, and that tongue of his, that bade the Romans
Mark him and write his speeches in their books,
Alas! it cried, *Give me some drink,—*
As a sick girl.”

But his health improving, he, to the surprise of many, and the sore disappointment of some, regained his former vigor of mind, and once more electrified the Senate. When that failed to have the desired effect, how would such a character, in such circumstances, probably conduct? I answer, in the *very mode* which JUNIUS adopted,—*A fearful hand-writing on the wall of the palace*, rendered doubly impressive by its halo of mystery!

We of Anglo-Saxon descent are more or less superstitious. Generally speaking, superstition agitates less powerfully minds moderately gifted, and of ordinary information. It operates, I had almost said *incubates*, upon the extremes of the human intellect;—I mean poetical genius and ignorance. One hair's breadth beyond the circumference of the circle of each man's knowledge leaves him on the vertiginous border of the dark ocean of superstition, where the giddy and bewildered imagination floats in a boundless sea of uncertainty, without sun, star, compass, or anchor, or any means of determining his latitude or

longitude. Such is restless superstition ! In a cloud ambiguous, in a vapor from such a troubled ocean, was enveloped JUNIUS, who, like the ghost of the King of Denmark, adds terror to his sepulchral voice.

Now I question if human judgment could have devised a more effectual method of rousing a deluded monarch, influencing and influenced by a secret, irresponsible cabinet, and losing rapidly the confidence of his people, than that startling exhibition of flaming Letters, reflected on the interior walls of his palace, by an UNKNOWN BEING.

A steady and uniform opinion, long since imbibed, has riveted in my mind the belief, that those solemn warnings were written by the hand of WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. Nor have I once, during fifty years, been able to dissociate the idea. I contend, that the hypothesis suits that nobleman, and fits no other personage whatever ; and the more I have pondered, inquired, compared and balanced one thing against another, the deeper has been the impression, that it was the powerful voice of that great but angry Statesman, which sounded in the ears of the King and resounded through the nation,—
“ THOU HAST BEEN WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE—AND FOUND WANTING ! THY KINGDOM IS DEPARTING FROM THEE ! ”

A prophecy, long since, more than half fulfilled ! *

It seems that Mr. Pitt, disappointed in his ruling passion, *arms*, by the gout, acted like a wise but ill-favored virgin, who, conscious that she could not attract attention by her personal charms, resolves to make up the defect by sedulous cultivation of mind and behaviour. So Pitt, when forced to relinquish the fascinating pomp of war, redoubled his diligence in disciplining one of those quick, strong, and brilliant intellects, to whose captivating powers we give the name of genius. A

* “ Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies ; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided the one half of the empire from the other.”—JUNIUS, *Letter the First*.

young man of Mr. Pitt's lofty spirit and military cast of disposition, who could read regularly Bailey's Dictionary, more copious in words than Johnson's, twice over, and who could dig in Barrow's quarry for materials for his monument, must have had a brain equal to any task his judgment chose to lay upon it. With the same view he studied not only Shakspeare but Spenser. Favored with a muse of fire, such an ardent student must have considered every word he used with the same attention that the mathematician does a figure. He was adroit in the use of the file and the burnisher without weakening the metal. To be convinced of this, compare his first speeches in Parliament in the year 1736, with some later ones; make the same comparison with the Letters of JUNIUS, and there will be found in each a progressive improvement; so true is that voice of antiquity which said,—The gods **SELL** every thing to *Industry*.

Mr. Pitt, when young, associated with distinguished men older than himself, whence he imbibed that freedom of speech, easy, unembarrassed manner, and imposing assurance, which made its way through every thing, till it became a habit; and what with the irritations of gout, and pressure of various business, it may have required the vigilance of that dramatic part of behaviour, denominated *good breeding*, to make it bearable. Great commanders are apt to acquire a reserved demeanor, short diction, and peremptory tone. To a noble and commanding figure, a perfect mastery over an admirable voice, deliberate and collected faculties, was added a *manner* peculiarly fascinating. In the same speech he would descend occasionally to colloquial familiarity, and rise incidentally to epic sublimity. His irony was strong, provoking, and dignified, his invectives terrible, and his ridicule irresistible. We would remark, however, that when a man in any station or profession has become transcendently eminent, every thing he says elicits applause, while criticism and censure stand deaf, dumb, and blind. Take an example.

When Mr. Pitt's brother-in-law, the Right Hon. George Grenville, was speaking earnestly in the House of Commons, he not only raised a loud laugh at his expense, but actually fixed upon that able and very respectable man the ridiculous appellation of "*the Gentle Shepherd*." The occasion was no more than this. There was a very popular song or ditty, bordering on the silly, sung everywhere,—in the theatres, great and small, and in every street and every square and court in London, even to annoyance, by every beggarly ballad-singer and kitchen-maid, and was in every mouth and every ear; the chorus to every stanza was,—"*Where,—oh where,—Gentle Shepherd,—tell me where.*" Mr. Grenville was speaking, solemnly, of the discouraging lack of money for a certain purpose then under debate, when he exclaimed oratorically,—"*Where is your money,—where are your means,—yes,—where, I say, is your money?*" and then sat down to give more effect to his pathetic question. At this moment Mr. Pitt hobbled slowly out of the House with his flannels and crutches, humming the tune,—"*Oh where,—Oh Gentle Shepherd! tell me where,—Oh where!*" The effect was instantaneous and electric, and the *tout ensemble* was irresistible. The House shook with laughter, and settled for ever on Mr. George Grenville the appellation of "*the Gentle Shepherd*."

This mirthful anecdote shows, better than a long dissertation, the magical ascendancy of Pitt over the Parliament of England. *Napoleon*, in all his power and glory, had hardly more ascendancy over his council, than the illustrious Commoner over the British Senate, by every species of oratory, from the solemn to the playful.

One anecdote more. *Horace Walpole*, afterwards *Lord Orford*, attended a "*caucus*," held at the Cockpit, in November, 1755, where Mr. Pitt made a long speech, which he thus describes;—"Pitt surpassed himself; and then I need not tell you that he surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they, with their formal, labored, cabinet orations, make *vis-à-vis* his manly and dashing eloquence. I never sus-

pected Pitt of such an universal armoury. I knew he had a Gorgon's head, composed of bayonets and pistols, but little thought that he could tickle to death with a feather. On the first debate [on the Hanoverian and Russian treaties], Hume Campbell, whom the Duke of Newcastle has retained as the most abusive council he could find against Pitt, attacked him for his '*eternal invectives*.' Oh! since the last phillipic of Billingsgate memory, you never heard such an invective as Pitt returned! Campbell was annihilated! Pitt, like an angry wasp, seems to have left his sting in the wound, and has since assumed a style of delicate ridicule and repartee. But think how charming a ridicule must that be that lasts, and rises, flash after flash, for an hour and a half!"

Now such an ambidextrous genius could write any thing, any how, of any body, and trust posterity with his reputation. On one occasion, he looked Lord Chief Justice Mansfield down by absolute staring; and, after directing all eyes on the mild dignity of that great man, and saying that he should use but few words, but those should be *daggers*, he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, "JUDGE FELIX trembles: *He shall hear from me some other day*,"—and sat down. Supposing Chatham to be JUNIUS, can we wonder at his bitter invectives in print against Mansfield, after reflecting on what fell from his lips in Parliament?

We can exhibit Chatham's thoughts to the eye upon paper at this distance of time and space, but we lose his *manner*. His warm admirers have said,* You should have *seen* him, that you might have witnessed "the terrors of his beak and the lightnings of his eye." They talk too of his angry expression, and look of ineffable contempt, and say that he sometimes stared his opponent out of countenance,—then, in a strong, grand, and thundering voice, poured upon the abashed subject a hot and heavy torrent of invective, as in the instance just mentioned, leaving the House in a languor of amazement.

* Butler's Reminiscences.

Beside the awe-imposing looks of Lord Chatham, we hear of his fascinating bow of condescending protection. Consummate orators must necessarily be complete actors; and it is said, that no man becomes a great actor on the stage until he has surmounted the common feelings of men, and put his foot upon tender-heartedness. Is this applicable to our great Statesman or to JUNIUS? It has been remarked, that Lord Chatham's commanding eloquence had a tendency to impress the listener with a something more to be dreaded than his mere words, that the man was greater than the orator; whereas in Burke the orator appeared greater than the man.*

I am at a loss for the proper epithet to designate that kind of vituperative oratory in which Lord Chatham sometimes indulged. I venture, however, to assert, that there is nothing in our language which resembles it so much as certain portions of the Letters of Junius. But I do not restrict the parallel to the raging style of invective; I extend the observation to the careful and apparently simple diction in the speeches of the one, and in the writings of the other;—simple, select, and natural, like the exquisite statuary of ancient Greece, it is less striking at first, because nearer to nature than the art of the moderns, and never tiring the gaze of refined taste.

One more confirmatory instance of the effects of Pitt's oratory, or the dread of it, on the hardy John Wilkes, who men-

* Our North American Indians understand this perfectly. With faces painted to frightfulness, they accompany their furious orations in their treaty-councils with horrid grimaces, yells, and flourishes of the tomahawk, to make an impression of something greater than reality. I should like to have seen the modern Demosthenes in one of our American assemblies, wound up to the highest pitch of his oratorical powers, *vis-à-vis* James Otis, Samuel or John Adams, or Patrick Henry. Such a great orator might, for a moment, confuse those men, but never daunt them. I doubt if such hornbeam-fibred men as those pioneers of our revolution would have been daunted by "the terrors of his beak or the lightning of his eye." If great admiration be a suspension of reason, and if we are liable sometimes to have our faculties struck, for a moment, into undiscerning amazement, the elastic mind of true courage soon recovers, and acts for itself in its own defence.

tioned to Reminiscent Butler, that, once when Mr. Pitt rose and began to speak in a solemn and austere manner, he, Mr. Wilkes, expecting a castigation for a conscious fault,* thought the thunder was to fall upon him; and he declared that he never, while at Westminster-school, felt greater terror, when called up to be chastised, than he did while the uncertainty lasted; or felt greater jubilation when he was pardoned, than when he found the bolt was destined for another head. The like awe-imposing effect was experienced by Mr. Wilkes when he approached JUNIUS, though a curtain intervened. He stops and considers, if he can, without profanation, approach nearer the object of his idolatry.

The celebrated Lord Chesterfield bears this testimony to the superior eloquence of Lord Chatham. "He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing. He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. His eloquence was of *every kind*. His invectives terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over them."

It was in the year 1766, that Lord Chatham first advocated in Parliament the principles of our resistance to their assumed right to tax these unrepresented colonies. These were his pathetic words,—“When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the *consequences*, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, that I might have borne my testimony against it.” He doubtless remembered the stern character of those thoughtful Englishmen, who quitted their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a

* Bribing the captain of a vessel to land certain London voters in Norway, who took passage for Berwick, where they meant to vote.

desert. He knew that such men, so transplanted, had left sons that would resist unto blood, and if so, our independence would be the natural consequence. His mind's eye saw this; and, courageous as he was, he shuddered at the prospect, believing that so soon as Britain and America became seriously roused to internecine combat, vindictive France would, by siding with us, revenge the severe blows she received from England, when Pitt directed the war against her. Under these apprehensions, the great Statesman appeared unhappy, towards the close of his life, and his utterance perplexed, as if halting between two opinions, when the cause of the mother country and our independence were subjects of debate. The supremacy of Parliament was to be asserted, yet not exercised. He dreaded the revival of the dangerous question of taxation, "*which ought*," to use the words of JUNIUS, "*to have been buried in oblivion.*" See his first Letter.

As an advocate of English liberty, according to the standard erected at the revolution in 1688, Lord Chatham rejoiced at our resistance, since our enslavement would but rivet the chains of Englishmen; as our alliance with France would produce arrogant triumphs, and possibly revive the detestable maxim of—*Delenda est Carthago*. France had fought Britain with one blade only of the shears of destruction. Had America joined her at the French revolution, and acted consentaneously, Britain would probably have experienced something like a second French subjugation; and the two rivetted blades would have completed the shears of her fate.

Under some such apprehension, the venerable Seer felt as a loyal subject and true Briton,—his patriotism strong in death;—and what with exhaustion from disease, anxiety, and conflicting passions, occasioned by some imprudent remarks in the course of debate from a noble Duke, his friend, when he rose to reply, he faltered, and sunk fatally under a confused idea of impending evils,* leaving behind him a glorious and untainted memory! This was in the House of Lords, in the year *one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight*.

* Lord Chatham expired at his own home.

CHAPTER VIII.

CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES POINTED OUT, AND DISCUSSED.

HAVING avowed our belief, that *Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, was the author of the Letters under the signature of *Junius*, and given a sketch of his life and character, it will be expected that we give our reasons for the opinion. We acknowledge the task to be encumbered with serious *difficulties*; yet we venture to encounter them, and should we fail, we would rather lie under the imputation of presumptuousness than cowardice.

The theme has exercised cultivated and scrutinizing minds, not merely as a question of amusing curiosity, but as involving the history of the greatest men of the age, and of the greatest event, comprehending principles and conduct which led, not only to the independence of these English colonies on Britain, but the separation of all America from the government of Europe. It stops not here, but their discussion is reflected back upon the old world with increased light and warmth, changing, as it proceeds, the crescent to a full orb, operating beneficently on the affairs of all men.*

Most of those, who have gone before us, had made their attack by a *coup-de-main* and failed; warned by their discomfiture, we proceed slowly. The fortifications we are about to recon-

* *Algiers*, a kingdom as large as all New England, has just surrendered to enlightened France; and the *Turkish* empire trembles at the two-fold power that surrounds her.

noître are works of a great master,—a *Vauban* in the art of attack and defence. No one has circumvallated and entrenched himself with more skill and caution than JUNIUS. He has not only put into practice every known art, but resorted to the most refined species of deception ;—hence we pay little regard to his assertions whenever his individual safety is concerned.

We have said that there has been more attention directed to the dress of JUNIUS, than to his person,—more observance of his style and diction, than of his mind, feelings, rank, and condition. The best way of judging of the soul of such a writer,—the surest way of scanning his principles, motives, and intentions, would be to translate his writings into the Dutch language. This would be to strip him of that which dazzles the eye, and diverts attention from the main object. It would be changing Junius's armour of polished steel for a common garb. It is very hard to know a man who is all mind, and whose primary object is disguise and concealment. That every writer of genius has a style and manner by which he is known, is, in a great measure, true ; so every man has a natural gait and gesture ; but the drill-sergeant and the dancing-master alter these peculiarities for the exercise of the field and the ball-room, where discipline and art bridle nature. So in writing, discipline may put on a habit of disguise, provided the assumed dress be inferior to the original one. But whenever the individual discusses the same subject, at one time as a *writer*, and at another as an *orator*, it is very difficult to depart from his natural manner without dishonoring truth, or soiling principle. Now, the same determined national principles run through the writings of JUNIUS, which shine in the speeches of *Lord CHATHAM*.

That such a writer as JUNIUS should speak in a public assembly like *Chatham*, no one will contend, who thinks of Addison and Gibbon ; but that such a consummate orator as Chatham should be able to write like JUNIUS, few will deny. The utmost resolution, in the first case, might fail, but may always succeed in the last. The most accurate engraver of the most tasteful and beautiful chirography commonly writes worse

than other men. So if the most finished orator would but take the pains, he could, by striving, make himself an equally spirited and polished writer, as was the ambitious Cicero among the Romans, and Burke among the Britons ;—*Dii laboribus omnia vendunt*,—the gods do not give, but *sell* every thing to industry. Lord Chatham was a prodigy of industry. It is said, that, when a young man, he read Bailey's Dictionary, the best then extant, regularly through twice, and that he committed several of Dr. Isaac Barrow's sermons to memory for the sake of their energetic diction.* How long would it take such a genius as Chatham to acquire a knowledge of his native tongue equal to that attained by an inferior star in the political firmament of Britain, John Horne Tooke?

Allowing the Earl of Chatham to have been, what he certainly was, a polished scholar, of transcendent eloquence, with a rich and exhaustless mine of political information and energetic expressions, can it not be conceived, that such an experienced minister, in his *horæ solitariae*, could give to epistles, or short essays, the strength and precision of Barrow, with the pencil of Milton, and yet appear like neither of them? Beside, who shall set bounds to the combined force of genius, judgment, industry, courage, and deep resentment, when winged by a belief of the danger of his country fast rolling to the brink of a precipice? A condition of things enough to make the dumb speak. Reflect, reader, on the case before us. Oratory had uttered its warning voice in vain. The utmost powers of eloquence had failed. The love of country was ready to resign itself to despair.

But patriotism rallied and took a new stand, resolved to effect by the Pen what the transitory pomp of declamation had failed to accomplish. To wing the strongest arguments with the bitterest invectives and the keenest satire, requires something more than the breath of man. It requires that most potent of all instruments, the PEN, a weapon most to be relied

* Butler's Reminiscences.

on ; and not the less so if the hand only appears upon the wall, while the body to which it belongs is invisible.*

IN fixing the authorship of JUNIUS where we think it belongs, we calculated on encountering great *difficulties*,—very great difficulties ; and we have met what we expected. The birth-place of Homer has never been ascertained ; yet that mighty genius did not exert his extraordinary powers, and tax his ingenuity, subtilty, and contrivance, to delude the people, and lure them away from the thing sought, as JUNIUS has studiously and intently done, purposely to elude our search by systematic deception, in order to secure himself and family from destruction. In forming such a resolution, nay, determination, he must have stipulated with his conscience respecting his infringement of truth. Instances of such trespass on strict veracity may be found in the history of every age and people, even in holy history. *Abraham* denied Sarah to be his wife ; that pattern of purity and a good conscience, *Joseph*, said to his brothers, all of whom he knew,—“ By the life of King Pharaoh ! ye are spies, come to see the nakedness of the land.” The conduct of the prophet *Jeremiah*, in his intercourse with the king, may be mentioned ; and what is still stronger, *Peter*, the patron Saint of three quarters of the Christian world, went beyond them all in falsehood. We hope to tread this holy ground with caution and due reverence. “ *Skin for skin ; all that a man hath will he give for his life.*”

Concerning the *concealment of truth from those who have no right to be made acquainted with it*, much may be said. He who has read most of history will be best able to settle the point, when we say, that it has been the practice of some of the most

* The arrow, the most potent of all visible weapons, is a compound of the spear and the feather,—the *pen* and the *sword* ; the one to pierce the hostile invader, the other to direct it aright. It ought to have been the emblem, or ensign armorial of these United States, instead of *Jove's* solitary bird of prey, whose usual residence is on some lightning-blasted tree, or barren rock in a dreary desert, the waste of ages.

distinguished sovereigns, ambassadors, generals, and reformers, in all ages, to withhold the truth, when they thought prudence forbade it to be revealed ; and this has been called wisdom.

When JUNIUS was uttering oracular truths from behind a curtain, what right had the people, or the law itself, to demand his name or see his person. The guilty Assyrian asked the prophet Daniel only the *meaning* of the terrific hand-writing, and, when deeply afflicted by the prediction of the calamities about to come upon his kingdom, he demanded not the sight of the person who inscribed the portentous letters on the walls of his palace. So George the Third saw only the hand, without knowing the person to whom it belonged, and disbelieved the prediction, until Time and History gave the interpretation.

It is an equally arduous and ungrateful task to vindicate the use of *equivocation*, and *evasion* of truth, by a man of otherwise unimpeached integrity, and possessing a high sense of honor. Very rigid moralists, bookish men of the closet, secluded from the world, say, that an honest man dares no more *look* a falsehood, than utter one. But stratagem, the sublime part of the art of war, what is it other than to deceive ?—to hold up an appearance of something which is not intended, while under that mask some important object is secured ? The best and greatest men of this country, and of others, have added to their renown by practising it.

From subterfuges like those just mentioned, the main difficulties attending our determination of the person of JUNIUS arise ; and were they absolutely inconsistent with that high and honorable character which we attribute to him, our researches would be at an end. But even should it be impossible to vindicate such practices *in foro divino*, may we not apologize and extenuate them when speaking from man to his fellow-man ? Do not we find every day, that fear of personal harm, loss of property, and dread of public shame, induce a majority of the people, and not a small one, to go beyond evasion even to a flat denial ? Our very laws countenance it in the plea of "*not guilty*." Nor is such conduct ever made a question

when a man has to do with a highwayman, a pirate, or a murderer. Fortunately we have a competent judge of the very point at issue, in the great English moralist, *Samuel Johnson*, which we give in the following *dialogue* between that great man and his devoted disciple, *Boswell*. "Supposing, Sir, the person who wrote JUNIUS were asked whether he was the author, *might he deny it?*"—*Johnson*. "I don't know what to say to this. If you were *sure* that he wrote JUNIUS, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged, that when a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate; and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a *flat denial*; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or *evade*, it will be held equivalent to a confession. But stay; here is another case. Supposing the author had told me *confidentially*, that he had written JUNIUS, and I were asked *if he had*, I should hold myself at liberty to *deny it*, as being under a previous promise, expressed or implied, to conceal it. Now, what I ought to do for the author, *may I not do for myself?*" *

Junius had the confidence to say to his printer,—“Be assured, that it is not, in the nature of things, that they, or you, or any body else, should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts, or inquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual.” We are therefore prepared to doubt, if not deny, any assertion or insinuation concerning himself, because he

* I should wish to know what the strict followers of *George Fox* and *William Penn* would have said to *Samuel Johnson's* case of conscience. The Earl of Chatham said, in the House of Peers, in 1770,—“I do not say, my Lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but, if any gentleman in England were to ask me, whether I thought both Houses of Parliament were bribed, I should laugh in his face and say,—‘Sir, it is not so!’” Does the laugh sanctify the falsehood; or might the Peer, who “*on honor's cap is the very button,*” † utter words contrary to what *he knew was the truth*.

† *Shakspeare*.

starts fair with the public, and says, in pretty plain terms,—I will, by every means in my power, *conceal* myself. I AM THE SOLE DEPOSITORY OF MY OWN SECRET. We remove this bold assertion at once, by pronouncing the thing to be IMPOSSIBLE in the *nature of things*, and we shall prove it by his own words, unless the grave had closed upon his scribes and copyists before he wrote his Dedication.

When such an eminent personage, as the one we suppose to be the author of the Letters, exalted above his peers by force of superior and varied talents, had resolved to address, anonymously, the King, the Parliament, and the people of England; to reprehend one, to reprove and reproach the others; to assail with the keenest satire and the sharpest invectives certain obnoxious individuals in high stations, his first, his chiefest care must have been that of his own security,—absolute and perfect concealment of his person. He knew that every thing, character, usefulness, influence, and even existence, depended on impenetrable concealment.* It was necessary this concealment should extend, not merely to the external evidence, as the hand-writing and the transmission of the letters, but to the *internal* evidence that might be gathered from style, manner, facts, and sentiments, communicated in them. If discovery might not have been fatal to his existence, prosecution and conviction of libel might have been utterly destructive of his fame, fortune, influence, and happiness. He must have considered well the thin partition which divides great fame from the deepest misfortune in kings and prime ministers. While deliberating on his plan, he must have weighed his own powers and means, before pre-determination took a step, and have been wide awake to every probable and possible danger of discovery. He must have premised never to utter a word that might direct attention to his person, excite suspicion of his rank, or encourage a guess of his peculiar character or station beyond that of marked *respectability*, which he could not conceal.

* "I am sure I should not survive the discovery three days."—JUNIUS.

Above all, he must have presumed on his power of diverting the prying eye of curiosity in such a city as London, which he knew would be very busy in hunting out his personality. To obviate this great danger he must have agreed with his conscience not to boggle at evasions and deceptions and denials; bestowing, at the same time, on himself, a harmless sneer, grounded on his age or morbid infirmity, and dropping now and then a seemingly careless, though deeply studied phrase or sentence of commendation and respect, all calculated to divert the mind of the reader from the real object of the nation's curiosity and the court's vengeance. Examples of this may be seen here and there in the Letters of JUNIUS relative to the venerable CHATHAM, which, though sarcastic, are softened down by degrees, until they end in a remarkable strain of panegyric.

This conduct is neither strange nor unwarrantable. All animated nature has more or less of it.

————— *O thou Goddess !*
Thou divine nature ! —————

that teachest the sitting or nursing partridge never to rise from directly over her nest, but to run creeping along ~~in~~ the grass to some distance from it, before she exposes herself on the wing. She as instinctively stops her flight at as remote a distance from her nest, and returns to it under the cover of the herbage.

————— “ ’T is wonderful,
 That an invisible instinct should frame them
 To *protection* unlearn'd,—*safety* untaught ;
Security not seen from others.”

Next to mere instinct, and very like it, comes the wiliness of the savage of our forests in his war with white men, whom he seldom fails to circumvent or elude. It is situation, circumstances, and necessity, that excite mind, muscle, and instinct, to self-preservation. Within the circle of the idea here started, what manifold subterfuges, lures, resources, refined deceptions, and juggling might be practised by one of the ablest, most indefatigable, best informed, prompt, and most sapient

of the sons of men,—all sense, all intellect,—a general, a sentinel, an orator, a consummate politician, a juggler, a spirit present in every department, and acquainted with all the operations of the body politic, and its limbs diplomatic,—a man in whom decrepitude of body sharpened his mental and instinctive faculties, always on the stretch till he became more than a match for any other man. Such a man alone could have been the author of the Letters, and been able, during the long course of three years, to have transmitted them, and corresponded with the printer of them, undetected.

Assuming that JUNIUS and Lord Chatham were the same, we meet, in the first letter, a passage that appears, at the first blush of the business, fatal to our hypothesis. It follows.

“When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain’s supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and, at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable, that those of the empire, who had been benefited most by the expenses of the war, should *contribute* something to the expenses of the peace ; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in Parliament to raise the *contribution*.

“But,” says Junius, “unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was, at any rate, to be distressed because he was minister ; and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while, perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they, in effect, divided one half of the empire from the other.”

This is a profound and labored paragraph, with an insinuation, which the writer tried to abet by adding thereto a note in these words,—“Yet JUNIUS *has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham.*”

Place yourself, reader, in the situation of JUNIUS, actuated by all those views he manifestly entertained ; possessing a fund of information respecting the court and the government, so minute and extensive, as none but an experienced courtier could have accumulated ; projecting a series of Letters to his countrymen, instilling principles of civil liberty, and the necessity of restraining the royal prerogative, as well as effecting a general reform, which alone JUNIUS seemed to think could save the empire from ruin ; uniting at once talents of the highest order, with an indifference to office and emolument, which his very concealment makes unquestionable ; and very probably feeling sore by a sense of injury from the monarch, and insults from his interior, irresponsible cabinet. Let the reader, I say, thus substantiating the *shadow*, ask himself,—*Who is the man most likely to be charged with this hand-writing on the wall ?* If what we have said has any weight, the answer will be the EARL OF CHATHAM, and he ALONE. What other man had *his* provocations ? Moreover, who, beside him, had the knowledge discoverable in these Letters ? Who had the honor and glory of Old England more at heart ? And, which is not the weakest argument, who had that Demosthenical eloquence for exposing all these things, so glowing in the pages of JUNIUS, but he who transcended all others for that “*superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, and wisdom in decision.*”

What then must the man in the *visor* do, if he really be Chatham himself ? He must commence his operations by warding off a blow, which might be destructive to his whole plan in all its ramifications. No means to accomplish this end could be more effectual, than severity of remark upon himself, even to abuse, and upon his dear friend, Lord Camden. Accordingly, to the high-minded Lord Chatham, and to that pillar of the constitution, Earl Camden, Junius attributes, in the words already cited, a spirit of vulgar and mean opposition, bent, wickedly bent, on the ruin of a minister, though it should cost half of an empire ! What a diabolical spirit must have

entered the hearts of those eminent men, were the accusation true ! We shall prove hereafter, that JUNIUS himself did not believe it.

After this, what reader, but of the most scrutinizing class, would even suspect, that this foul accuser, JUNIUS, and *Lord Chatham*, were one and the same person. Bear in mind, reader, that his settled purpose was to deceive the multitude as it regarded *himself* ; and to the multitude, without distinction of rank and condition, did he write, and in a style the most studied and peculiar. The deep deception marked the master spirit, and its efficacy was complete.

If we examine the deep reproach itself, which is indeed contumelious, could the accusation have been sincere ? Certainly not. Junius well knew that odium could not attach itself to either of those illustrious Peers. Did the opposition of Lord Chatham and of Lord Camden to the measure of Mr. Grenville "in effect divide one half of the empire from the other" ? JUNIUS knew better. We, Americans, know better, and absolve *them* from the charge, and JUNIUS from the folly of believing it.

It is also worthy of remark, that Junius denounces the conduct of Chatham and Camden, while he himself scarcely wrote a sentence that was not pregnant with the same spirit which, at that time, pervaded the speeches of those two venerable Statesmen. His invective could not have been sincere, since the abuse is equally applicable to himself ; nay, it is at perfect variance with the high, the very high applause which he bestows on both of them ; on Lord Chatham in his Fifty-fourth Letter, and upon Lord Camden, in his solemn, valedictory address, when he appears to drop his mantle on him, enjoining him to sacrifice, in the Temple of Justice, the victim, Mansfield, whom he had dragged bound to her altar.

It is furthermore remarkable, how cautiously JUNIUS prepares his reader to receive gradually his high eulogy of Lord Chatham, by saying, in the same letter,—“ It is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne, to deter me from doing signal jus-

tice to a man who, *I confess, has grown upon my esteem.*" Can any one conceive that a character like that of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, renowned to celebrity, famous through the reign of George the Second, and firmly established throughout the civilized world before JUNIUS began to write, could grow so fast in his esteem, as that, within the short space of two years, from being the wretch,—yes, the wretch, who could divide one half of the empire from the other merely to ruin a minister, should deserve,—we use the very words of JUNIUS,—that "recorded honors should gather round his monument and thicken over him"; furthermore, that these praises he bestowed upon him "would wear well, *for they had been dearly earned.*"

We intreat the reader to ponder these things.

We shall treat this high but singular panegyric, professedly in its proper place, and only observe, in passing, that Junius says in the Fifty-fourth Letter, just cited, "I am willing enough to suppose, that, in public affairs, it would be impossible to desert or betray Lord Chatham without doing an essential injury to this country." And he speaks of Saville, Richmond, *Camden* and *Chatham*, as fathers of their church and objects of political worship. Weighing and considering these things, can we believe, that the denunciatory passage, cited from the first Letter of JUNIUS, had its foundation in truth and sincerity? Or was it throwing sand in the eyes of the pursuer?

Nor is it altogether unworthy of notice, that, in the same very weighty paragraph, the able writer glances at "*Britain's former successes,*" which he could not but know were attributable to the glorious administration of the very man who was mean enough, base enough, to risk the integrity of the empire, if he could but pull down a minister, and that minister, the Right Hon. George Grenville, the brother-in-law of Lord Chatham.

JUNIUS has been studied like an academic model, from various points of view, but not from every point. We, at this distance, may view him from a point in the circle of artists, but slightly attended to in Britain, if not wholly neglected. To

my own eye it appears, that, if insincerity was ever made out against any man, we have demonstrated this accusation against Lords Chatham and Camden to be insincere. We view it as one of those blinds or lures, practised by JUNIUS, to divert attention from his person at his first setting out.

Having surmounted one difficulty, we are met by another, yet are we not discouraged; and though we may not remove it, we will try, encouraged with the hope of coming to level ground again.

The Right Hon. George Grenville had quoted a passage from Blackstone's Commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by that celebrated lawyer in the House of Commons. Sir William Blackstone was, at that time, solicitor-general to the Queen. He was touched so painfully by the incident, that he wrote a pamphlet in defence of his reputation in the "insipid form of a third person," which occasioned JUNIUS to address him. And he says to him, "Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack on Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. *I have neither the honor of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of the facts.*"

The rest of the letter is principally employed in vindicating Mr. Grenville's character and conduct against the attack of Blackstone, and in clearing it from every stain of blame, but is little connected with our present object, except as it leads us to remark the friendly solicitude of JUNIUS for the honor of that indefatigable minister and worthy man; * and to notice a short

* "Mr. Grenville was, above all men, the declared favorite of JUNIUS. He never censured him, but embraced every occasion of defending and extolling his conduct and principles, and therefore *must* have known him."—*From a pleasant work by E. H. Barker, Esq.* that has just come to my hands. The Rev. Mr. Thackeray says, of all the members of the Grenville family, Mr. Pitt ever distinguished the elder brother by

passage, viz.—“ You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, *upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be fairly exerted.*”

Is it probable, is it credible, that JUNIUS, conversant, beyond all doubt, in courts, cabinets, palaces, and parliaments, acquainted with offices in every department of government, could be unknowing of, and unknown to, the Right. Hon. George Grenville, who, in JUNIUS's day, had been Prime Minister, and, for a long time, a leader in the House of Commons. Our author, a master-spirit, who appears to know every body else of distinction, pretends that he and Mr. Grenville are unknown to each other! Speaking severely of the Duke of Grafton, he says, “ My abhorrence of the Duke arises from an *intimate* knowledge of his character.” He knew, it seems, minutely, the character of Mr. Wilkes, and Sawbridge, and all the *Di minorum gentium*, as well as the *majorum*, and of *him*, who is too exalted to be cited,—and yet had no acquaintance with a man, who occupied so large a space in his own and in the public estimation; a gentleman, whose name and political character, as the reputed father of the American stamp-act, is well known in this country.

Now, if JUNIUS and Chatham were one and the same person, we perceive at once the delicacy of acknowledging acquaintance with Mr. Grenville and his brother *Lord Temple*, the latter of whom, though a noble whig and of great influence, is *never once* mentioned by JUNIUS. Mr. Grenville's subserviency to the sovereign's strong wishes respecting an American revenue, and particularly the stamp-act, needed explanation, palliation, and extenuation, to the people of both hemispheres; and JUNIUS did not neglect it. He speaks, in his Fifteenth Letter, of “ the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, and the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham.” And in a note to the younger Woodfall's

the most cordial attachment; but he was inferior to his brother *George*, both in judgment and application.

edition, the editor remarks, that—"The warm attachment of JUNIUS to every part of the conduct of this distinguished Statesman [George Grenville], may, perhaps, import something more than a mere political concurrence of sentiment, and indicate *an ardent personal friendship*."

Taking it for granted, and I cannot believe otherwise, that the author of the Letters in question was known to Mr. Grenville, let us see if we can possibly clear him from the imputation of uttering a deliberate falsehood with intent to deceive. He might whisper to his conscience, that he meant, 'not known to Mr. Grenville *as JUNIUS*'; implying his, Mr. Grenville's, not partaking the secret. We go one step farther, and crave permission, in this difficulty, to recur to the primitive meaning of the words *person* and *personally*; for in this the stress lies;—a word that will bear the strain of interpreting it to denote the *assumed* character, and not the proper person, —the *visor* or mask, under which JUNIUS might allow himself to say, 'I have not the honor of being *personally* known to him in my *visor* and complete armour, with only this inscription on my shield, *Stat nominis umbra*.' May it not bear this fair construction? 'I, being *personatus*, that is, disguised in my helmet, like an ancient knight, engaged in redressing wrongs, have not, in consequence of it, the honor of being known *to him*, although he is very well known *to me*.' Some may think, that 'this is picking the strands of a Jesuitical rope to its primitive oakum; yet if there be any thing respectable in this argument,—if it be not absolutely trifling, then it will follow, that there is not a *positive* denial, but an *equivocal* subservient to *his plan*, and rendered necessary to the vital secret, on which depended more than the writer's life. I have a right to consider this equivocal a device subordinate to his plan, because JUNIUS is remarkable for planning. In a private letter Mr. Wilkes complained piteously of his too severe castigation of him in the year 1769; when he said soothingly to him,—“Think no more of what is past. You did not then stand so well in my opinion; and it was necessary to *the plan*

of that letter to rate you lower than you deserved"; that is, variant from the truth. .

In trying to remove this second difficulty we would remark, that few people consider the power of *internal* evidence. The multitude look for the highest degree of proof, for absolute certainty, in such a world as this. There is in nature a strong evidence of things not seen. . But I cannot do better, in illustrating this subject, than use the words of JUNIUS himself.

"I still maintain, that the conduct of this minister carries with it an *internal* and convincing evidence against him. Sir William Draper seems not to know the value or force of such a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men by the manifest tendency of their actions, nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witnesses with a triumphant security, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of justice. Yet a religious man might have remembered upon what foundation some truths, most interesting to mankind, have been received and established. If it were not for the *internal evidence* which the purest of religions carries with it, what would have become of his once well-quoted decalogue, and of the meekness of his Christianity." *

We would apply this exposition of the force of internal evidence to what we have already said, and may yet say, in the course of our search after a powerful being who had determined on concealment; and shall only remark here, that no man in London, of general information on the subjects we have discussed, could believe, that the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS and Mr. George Grenville were unknown to each other in the ordinary intercourse of persons of the same rank in society with JUNIUS. To the force of this kind of evidence we confidently appeal.

There is yet a *third difficulty*,—another lure thrown out to divert the keen pursuer after the person of JUNIUS. I mean

* Letter xxvii.

the celebrated eulogy recorded in the Fifty-fourth Letter of the collection. It was the first thing which impressed strongly upon my mind, that Lord Chatham was in reality JUNIUS himself, and that full fifty years ago. Increasing time has not diminished the idea, but strengthened it, like the bias of insanity.

The wise and wary JUNIUS overshot himself, when he, through misinformation or conjecture, accused the Rev. John Horne of treachery to his party. Horne's misfortune was an overweening self-sufficiency and a jealousy of his compatriots, particularly of Wilkes, who, he thought, monopolized popularity. It never appeared that Mr. Horne contemplated to desert to the enemy with his arms, as JUNIUS seems to insinuate; but he was considered the Marplot of every party to which he belonged, and JUNIUS aimed to check and confound him without offending his friends. Horne's ready and correct pen was valuable to the city patriots, who were more men of business than of letters. He was very active in getting up and maintaining the *Society for the Support of the Bill of Rights*; yet he divided and set at variance those members of it, who, like himself, envied Wilkes his gainful patriotism. John Horne was a bustling, overbearing man, who deserted, in a great measure, his clerical duties to scuffle with politicians, and he suffered accordingly. This learned gentleman, since better known by the agnomen of *Tooke*, beside constitutional intrepidity, had a clear and logical head, with no small portion of "*John-Bullery*"; but no party had entire confidence in him. That we may not be even suspected of uncharitableness towards an eminent literary character, we shall exhibit his *se ipse pinxit* picture.

In 1766, he writes from Montpelier to his friend John Wilkes, Esq., at Paris, thus,—“You are now entering into a correspondence with a parson, and I am greatly apprehensive, lest that title should disgust; but give me leave to assure you, I am not *ordained* a hypocrite. It is true, I have suffered the infectious hand of a bishop to be waved over me, whose imposition, like the sop given to Judas, is only a signal for the

devil to enter." That he could put off the clergyman and put it on again, alternately, with his clothes, in England and in France, is evident by the following short letter to his friend Wilkes, in 1767.

"Dear Sir,—According to your permission, I leave with you one suit of scarlet and gold ; one suit of white and silver cloth ; one suit of blue and silver camblet ; one suit of flowered silk ; one suit of black silk ; one black velvet surtout. If you have any fellow-feeling, you cannot but be kind to them ; since they too, as well as yourself, are out-lawed in England, and on the same account,—their superior worth.

I am &c. &c.

JOHN HORNE.*

That the sagacity of JUNIUS should induce him to suspect a man of this sort is not to be wondered at.

Partial as we may be to the heroic JUNIUS, we must nevertheless confess, that he ran upon a *snag* when he attacked Horne ; † who appears, in one instance, to have pierced the

* Horne says to Junius,—“You brought a positive charge against me of corruption. I denied the charge, and called for your proofs. You replied with abuse, and re-asserted your charge. I called again for proofs. You reply again with abuse only, and drop your accusation. In your fortnight's Letter there is not one word upon the subject of my corruption.”

JUNIUS was evidently mistaken. But what was the reply of the rough, unpolished Horne to Junius?—*You told a deliberate LIE.*

This is the wound given to the *ghost* of a great man, which afforded such supreme delight to all it had terrified !

† In the *Mississippi*, the father of rivers and the Nile of America, the never-ceasing current wears away its soft banks, and undermining large trees, carries them down the stream, where they sometimes gather in an everlasting tangle, laying the foundation of new islands ; or else a tree sticks fast by its roots in the bottom of the river, and whips one way and the other, according to the eddies, when it is called a *sawyer* ; or else it gets a firm position by its roots against some other unseen body, with its limbs and largest branches opposed to the current, forming a species of *abattis*, with its sharp ends projecting under water. These are called *snags*. Without experienced and adroit pilots and great caution, boats are liable to run with force against these subaquatic *chevaux-de-frise*, so as to pierce through their

valorous knight between the joints of his harness, so that he writhed under it, and wrote him a private letter, ungraciously apologetical, containing somewhat of abuse, yet, however, a permission to publish it if he thought it would benefit him. Horne, as if he saw a flash of immortality, gave it publicity, accompanied with a well written, Jesuitical reply ; which delighted the court, as evidence of divisions in the councils and forces of the city-patriots. He reaped an abundant crop of reputation from this rencontre, the more from the delight which most people take in seeing a notorious satirist satirized. Still he gives a token of the highest respect for the unknown writer, by wishing this line of Junius for his epitaph, viz. "*Horne's situation, did not correspond with his intentions*"; although a perversion of the writer's meaning.

Let us now turn to Lord Chatham.

Mr. Horne's Letter of the thirty-first of July, 1771, contained some passages that must have nettled, if not mortified Lord Chatham, the more so as coming from a professed admirer. It places that great man in a somewhat humiliating situation before the public. He says of him,—“When Lord Chatham can forgive the awkward situation, in which, for the sake of the public, he was designedly placed by the thanks to him from the city,” &c. Again,—“Because Lord Chatham has been ill treated by the King, and *treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton*, the latter is to be the pillow on which JUNIUS will rest his resentment.” Here Mr. Horne incidentally notices the sympathy between Lord Chatham and the man in the mask, and proceeds thus,—“I understand the two great leaders of opposition to be Lord Rockingham and

planks, when they are either held fast, or sink at once. Rapid steam-boats have, now and then, been sunk, before the baggage of the passengers could be removed. Sometimes, as it was with *Junius*, the damage is not so serious ; but enough to inspire the navigator with more caution in his steerage, and a sharper look-out, under water as well as above it. Whether, in his attack upon *Horne Tooke*, he did not run foul of a *SNAKE* is left to the judgment of the reader.

Lord Chatham ; under one of whose banners, all the opposing members of both Houses, who desire to get places, enlist. I can place no confidence in either of them.”—“ The motive, which dictated the thanks of the city to Lord Chatham, was for his declaration in favor of short Parliaments, in order thereby to fix Lord Chatham, at least, to that one constitutional remedy, without which all others can afford no security. The embarrassment, no doubt, was cruel. He had his choice, either to offend the Rockingham party, who declared formally *against* short Parliaments, and with the assistance of whose numbers in both Houses he must expect again to be minister ; or to give up the confidence of the public, from whom finally all real consequence must proceed. Lord Chatham chose the latter ; and I will venture to say, that, by his answer to those thanks, he has given up the people, without gaining the friendship or cordial assistance of the Rockingham faction.” This language from Mr. Horne must have nettled Lord Chatham, inasmuch as it was a narrative of facts malignantly represented.

It may be needful to say to the American reader, that the city-of-London Patriots, mere mercantile politicians, required of the lofty and high-minded Earl of Chatham, a hand-and-seal promise to a specific plan of reform, like the instructions of some of our towns to their members of Congress, should he, by *their influence*, return again to the high office of Prime Minister. It related to the question of short and long Parliaments. On Lord Chatham's declining this counting-house negotiation, Mr. Horne accuses him, tauntingly, of evasion, and abandonment of his principles, and attempts to hold him up in a point of view bordering on derision.

We notice the circumstance, to show the extreme solicitude of JUNIUS on the occasion. The public waited, with impatience, for his reply, which appeared in a *fortnight* after, in which he said,—“ I understand that the public are not satisfied with my silence ; and that, if I persist in refusing to plead, it will be taken for conviction.”

It is, on the whole, a curious Letter, and not free from symptoms of soreness, anxiety, and embarrassment. He says, whiningly,—“Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects? What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared? Is there no labor in the composition of these letters?”

The uneasiness of JUNIUS, at that time, is perceptible throughout his Letter [LIV. addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, August 15, 1771], and makes it worthy of particular notice. He says in it,—“It seems I am a partisan of the great leader of the opposition. If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported. I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion; and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem. *As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of JUNIUS would be of service to LORD CHATHAM. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding; if he judges of what is truly honorable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, EVEN THE PEN OF JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honors shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.*”

This is a very singular production from beginning to end. Its singularity or circumstantiality is such, that scarcely two readers put exactly the same construction on it. Mr. Heron, one of the commentators on Junius, remarks, that his author “suffered himself here to be betrayed into the burlesque, in

talking of laurels, even in figure, as if there were danger that the weight of them might crush a funeral monument; and that the praise was artfully contrived to show, that *Junius was not Lord Chatham's creature.*" Mr. Wilkes received several very interesting private letters from the unknown JUNIUS. He and his friend, the *Reminiscent Butler*, amused themselves a considerable time in trying to find out the author. Together they reviewed, considered, and pondered the famous Letters with great attention, sifting the anecdotes, weighing all the opinions, and comparing the various conjectures; and finished in despair. When they came to this high-wrought panegyric on Lord Chatham, they concluded it to be *ironical*. Nor do I much wonder at their perplexity. Let any one try, as I have done, to translate it into Latin or French, and its oddness will induce him to think, that it is somewhat like a finely polished knot of some very hard cabinet-wood, in which the beauty consists in its gnarly intricacy, and the cross-grained entanglement of its fibres, defying anatomy, yet altogether beautiful. Let others try their hand at it, and speak the result. To my own mind it looks as if it had been, at first, a lengthy eulogy, of which three fourths have been erased, leaving a mere fragment of the original structure. This *extorted* praise appears to me, not so much the sentiment of an *observer*, as the awkward and embarrassed production of a conscious *autographist*, hesitating under misgivings at every stroke of his pen. It appears, moreover, to me, that it was drawn out of Lord Chatham, by Horne Tooke's ungracious letter, placing his Lordship in a painfully awkward position; and that this strange encomium helped him to change his uneasy posture. Beside, the passage here commented on seems not a free and easy production. JUNIUS appears to go out of his way to lug in his esteemed nobleman; not to abuse him, as in his first Letter, but to heap upon him a load of panegyric in one point of view, and clumsy, niggardly praise in another. He adds, what had better been left out, that this well-earned praise, and these dear-bought recorded honors, are *extorted* from him.

May I repeat it, that this delusive eulogy was among the first, the very first passages in the Letters, which roused my suspicion, that JUNIUS was in fact Lord Chatham, nor have the revolving years of half a century diminished the early impression. So far from it,—*crescit eundo*.

That the great Earl of Chatham should bestow praises upon himself, anonymously, is a small obstacle in our way. The great Roman orator and patriot praised himself without any hesitation. Other great men have resorted to self-commendation, when forced to reply and defend themselves against dangerous enemies. St. Paul did it without scruple; and Junius confessedly availed himself of this license, when, under the signature of PHILO-JUNIUS, he magnifies himself, and smooths it over in the preface to his own edition of the Letters, in these words,—“But the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The *fraud* was *innocent*, and I always intended to explain it.”

If the language of JUNIUS, in the passage cited, go beyond what Chatham could, with real modesty, have uttered of himself *in public*, I see little or nothing in those laudatory expressions, which consciousness of desert, in a mind equally above vanity and hypocrisy, in the need of defence, might not have forced him to write under the SHADOW OF A NAME.

Lord Chatham, like Cicero, knew his own character in the opinion of the world; and he, as JUNIUS, had only to give a chaste sketch of it. JUNIUS says, in his Fifteenth Letter,—“The advice of the ablest men in the country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity,”—written doubtless to make the reader think of Lord Chatham without naming him, as any other writer naturally would have done. What smoothness and delicacy shine forth, now and then, amid the acute angles of satirical resentment!

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1826, Article *Icon Basilike*, says, that "a simple test ascertains the *political* connexion of JUNIUS, the only circumstance which he could not disguise, because it could not be concealed without defeating his general purpose ; that he supported the *cause of authority against America* with Mr. Grenville, the minister who passed the stamp-act ; and that he maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex election with the same statesman, who was the leader of opposition on that question ; that no other party in the kingdom, but the Grenvilles', combined these two opinions." And he adds,—“Whoever revives the inquiry, respecting the authorship of Junius, should show him to be *politically* attached to the Grenville party, which JUNIUS certainly was.”

On this presumed agreement we differ widely from the reviewer. The doctrine of *the authority of the British Parliament over America* was generally popular throughout England at the commencement of the dispute ; and even with a great many at the beginning of the war. But we deny that JUNIUS was an advocate for the unqualified authority of the Parliament over the colonies. In his first and justly celebrated Letter, January 21, 1769, after speaking honorably of Mr. Grenville at the beginning of it, he adds, before the close, these rather taunting expressions,—“Under one administration the stamp-act is made ; under the second it is repealed ; under the third, in *spite of all experience*, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a *question revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion*.” Here JUNIUS and Mr. George Grenville by no means accord. He then mentions the appointment of the *Earl of Hillsborough* to the new office of Secretary of the Colonies, and adds,—“As for his measures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite ; and that, when he entered into office, the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period, they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hin-

dered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal Assemblies [that of Massachusetts] rested upon an arbitrary condition,"—that they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it,—“which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with. So violent, and, I believe I may call it, so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, gives us as humble an opinion of his Lordship’s capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of Hillsborough’s measures in America. Whenever that force shall be *necessarily* withdrawn or *diminished*, the dismission of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove *the settled resentment* of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged * by an *unwarrantable stretch of prerogative*, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.” Does this look like advocating the authority of Britain over America in any other than the qualified sense always maintained by Lord Chatham? and never qualified by Mr. Grenville. The two most efficient men of the Grenville family were Richard Lord Temple, and his next younger brother, George, whom we have just mentioned, and who was the supposed father of our stamp-act. That JUNIUS was in accordance with Lord Temple is pretty clear; indeed the entire stream of his opinions runs that way; but JUNIUS and George Grenville never pushed or pulled together in politics, except in the cause of the Middlesex election. Nevertheless JUNIUS discovers a marked partiality or predilection for Mr. Grenville as a man.

I am ready to maintain, that JUNIUS was not a strenuous advocate for the authority of the British Parliament over America, in the same sense as over the people of England. I repeat

* *Outrage*,—to injure violently or contumeliously; to insult roughly; to commit exorbitances.—JOHNSON. Of all writers JUNIUS is the most remarkable for the nice selection of his terms.

it,—it was not a part of the plan of our author to discuss the great American question. He ever touches it cautiously, and always incidentally. He appears to dread lest violent measures should create combinations of resistance in America, that might probably end in her separation from the mother country. He speaks of the doctrine of taxation as a matter beyond the clear comprehension of the people at large ; and out of tenderness to Mr. Grenville, gives it the name of *contribution*. In an interesting private letter to Mr. Wilkes,* he says, “ If you (*the supporters of the Bill of Rights*) propose, that, in the article of taxation, they [the Americans] should be hereafter left to the authority of their respective assemblies, I must own, that I think you had no business to revive a question which should, and probably would, have lain dormant for ever.” Does this look like urging or favoring *the cause* of the Parliament, to raise a *revenue* in America by taxing them *without their consent* ?

But to come to the point at once. JUNIUS was infested by a swarm of anonymous writers, amongst whom Mr. Horne was suspected ; and was urged and goaded to speak out his sentiments respecting the *right of taxation over the Americans ; the impressing of seamen ; and the game laws ;* three cunningly devised snares. In November 2, 1771, the following article appeared in Woodfall's *Public Advertiser*.

“ We are desired to make the following declaration, in behalf of JUNIUS, upon three material points, on which his opinion has been mistaken or misrepresented.

“ JUNIUS considers the right of taxing the colonies by an act of the British legislature, as a *speculative* right merely, never to be *exerted*, nor ever to be *renounced*.” To his judgment it appears plain, ‘ That the general reasonings, which were employed against that power, went directly to our whole legislative right ; and that one part of it could not be yielded to such arguments without a virtual surrender of all the rest.’ ”

* No. lvi.—The younger Woodfall's edition.

The first clause is plain enough. It contains his own sentiments. The latter is the general reasonings of others, and savours of the lawyer, where the cuttlefish obscures the sight of his pursuers by his effusion of ink. Now, a right *never to be insisted on*, must be, in the opinion of every man of business, a right *abandoned*. The two theories may not be absolutely the same ; but, at most, there is here but a shadow of difference in opinion between himself and Lord Chatham. A shade, if not more, might be deemed necessary to keep up the vital deception respecting the person of JUNIUS. In a private letter to Mr. Wilkes, September 7, 1771, where he comments on the resolves of the supporters of the Bill of Rights, he says to him,—“ Since the repeal of the stamp-act, I know of no act tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea duty ; and even that can hardly be called *internal*. Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one. It preserves the contention between the mother country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is given up.

“ When this act is repealed, I presume you will turn your thoughts to the *postage of letters ; a tax imposed by the authority of Parliament, and levied in the very heart of the colonies.*” This is saying, in pretty plain terms,—Advise the Americans to resist *also* the operation of our post-office act, as it regards their country.* The writer in the Edinburgh Review could, therefore, hardly have read JUNIUS with due attention, when he asserted that he supported the cause of authority against America with Mr. Grenville. We assert, and shall prove hereafter, that Lord Chatham and JUNIUS thought alike

* The Americans never viewed the postage of letters in the light of a tax. It was a *quid pro quo*,—a service rendered ; a price paid for a certain convenience. There was no compulsion. A man might take his letter from the post-office or let it alone, send it by his own servant, or by the hand of a friend. They never refused to pay custom-house duties, nor ever objected to the British regulations of trade for the general benefit of the whole empire.

on the exercise of authority against the colonies. JUNIUS never speaks contemptuously of the Americans, but the reverse ; for example,—“ Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress, which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence.”—What that particular distress was, may be learnt from the speech of Lord Chatham urging the removal of the British troops from the town, (page 225.) Again, “ The spirit of the Americans may be an useful example to us.”—“ A series of inconsistent measures has alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country.” And in his famous Letter to the King.—“ They [the Americans] left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree ; they equally detest the pagantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop. It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance.”

Having shown the inclination of JUNIUS (for we must again remind the reader, that he touches incidentally only the great American question), it is proper that we should exhibit the positive opinion of Lord Chatham in regard to taxing America. He had said in the House of Lords, to the surprise of superficial thinkers, “ I REJOICE THAT AMERICA HAS RESISTED ” ; and his reason for it was this : Lord North, weary, probably, with applications and expostulations, was known to have said, that “ *It was to no purpose making objections, for the KING would have it so* ” ; and added, “ *that the KING meant to TRY THE QUESTION with America*, and Boston was fixed upon as the proper place for it ; and thus a civil war was raised against a country of whigs, *to try that dangerous question.*” The first step was to fill it with troops ; and on the twenty-seventh of May, 1774, Lord Chatham attended the House of Peers on the third reading of a bill for *quartering soldiers in America.*

His re-appearance, after a long absence from Parliament, was an epoch in its history, on which occasion he said,—“If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed, at that period, in their native country. And shall we wonder, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for?

“My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this *tea tax*. The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp-act, any interest but that of the mother country. There seemed an emulation among the different provinces, who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty to their real benefactor, as testified by a letter from Governor *Bernard*.

“This was the temper of the Americans, and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavours to *tax* them *without their consent*.”

In January, 1775, Lord Chatham appeared again in Parliament, when he powerfully urged the importance of immediately opening the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America. On which memorable occasion he said,

“My Lords! These papers from America now laid, for the first time, before you, have been, to my knowledge, five or six weeks in the pocket of the ministry; and, notwithstanding the fate of this kingdom hangs upon the event of this great controversy, we are but this moment called to a consideration of this important subject. I do not wish to look into one of those papers. I know that there is not a member

of this House but is acquainted with their purport, There ought, therefore, to be no delay in entering upon this matter, We ought to seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation. The Americans will never be in a temper or state to be reconciled, and they ought not to be, till the troops are withdrawn. The troops are a perpetual irritation to these people. I therefore move an humble address to be presented to his Majesty, that orders may be despatched for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston, &c. &c. in the usual parliamentary form of such bills,

“ The way, my Lords, must be immediately opened for reconciliation. It will soon be too late. I know not who advised the present measures. I know not who advises to a perseverance in them; but this I will say, that whoever advises them ought to answer for it at his utmost peril. I know that no one will avow that he advised, or that he was the author of these measures. Every one shrinks from the charge.* Somebody has advised his Majesty to these measures; and if his Majesty continue to hear such evil counsellors, he will be undone. His Majesty indeed may wear his crown, but, the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing.

“ What more shall I say? I must not say that the King is betrayed; but this I will say,—the nation is ruined.

“ What foundation have we for our claims over America? What is *our right* to persist in such cruel and vindictive measures against that loyal and respectable people, They say, you have *no right* to tax them without *their consent*. They say truly. Representation and taxation must go together; yet there is hardly a man in our streets, though so poor as scarcely able to get his bread, but thinks he is the legislator of

* Prophetical Chatham knew then, as we all have since, that the coercion of America was the King's *own* measure; and her subjugation his darling object. The *stamp-act* was George the Third's favorite scheme, and not Mr. Grenville's,—and next to that was Charles Townsend's *tea duty*."

America. ‘*Our American subjects*’ is a common phrase in the mouths of the lowest order of our citizens.

“Property, my Lords, is the sole and entire dominion of the owner. None can meddle with it. It is an unity, a mathematical point, an atom untangible by any but the proprietor. Touch it and you contaminate the whole mass. The touch of another annihilates it ; for whatever is a man’s own is absolutely and *exclusively* his own.

“In the last Parliament all was anger, all rage. Administration did not consider what was practicable, but what was revenge. “*Sine clade victoria*,” was the language of the ministry ; but every body knew,—an idiot might have known, *that* would not have been the issue. But the ruin of the nation was a matter of no concern, provided administration might be revenged. The Americans were abused, misrepresented, traduced in the most atrocious manner, in order to give a color, and urge on to the most precipitate, unjust, cruel, and vindictive measures that ever disgraced a nation.

“*Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna ;
Castigatque, auditque dolos.*” *

But how have these respectable people behaved under these grievances ? With unexampled patience, with unparalleled wisdom. They chose delegates by their free suffrages ;—no bribery, no corruption, no *influence* here, my Lords ! Their representatives meet, with the sentiments and the temper of

* It is worthy of remark, that Junius applies the same passage to the same course of reasoning, in a note to a Letter to Lord Mansfield, taken from Coke, 2 Inst. 55, viz. “The philosophic poet doth notably describe the damnable and damned proceedings of the judge of hell,

“*Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna ;
Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri.*”

First he punisheth, and *then* he heareth ; and, lastly, compelleth to confess, and makes and mars laws at his pleasure ; like as the centurion, in the holy history, did to St. Paul ; for the text saith,—‘*Centurio apprehendi Paulum jussit, et se catenis eligari ; et tunc interrogabat, quis fuisset, et quid fecisset.*’ But good judges and justices abhor these courses.”

their constituents, and speak the sense of the continent. For genius, for sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language,—for every thing respectable and honorable, the CONGRESS of *Philadelphia* shine unrivalled. This wise people speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves. They tell you what they mean. They do not ask you to repeal your laws *as a favor*, but claim it *as a right*. They *demand* it. They tell you *they will not submit to them*; and I tell you the acts *must* be repealed. You *cannot* enforce them. The ministry are checkmated. They have a move to make on the board, and cannot move without ruin. A bare repeal, my Lords, will not satisfy this enlightened and spirited people. What! repeal a bit of paper! a piece of parchment! That alone will not do. You must go farther. You must go through with it. You must declare that *you have no right to tax them*; and then they will trust you; then they will have confidence in you.

“A noble Lord seemed to lay some blame upon General Gage. I think the general has behaved with great prudence and becoming caution. He has entrenched himself, and strengthened his fortifications. I do not see what he could do more. His situation reminds me of a similar transaction in the civil wars of France, when the great Condé on one side, and Marshal Turenne on the other, lay, with large armies, many weeks very near each other. Turenne, conscious of the terrible consequences of a victory to himself and to his country, though the armies were several days in sight of each other, never came to battle. On his return to the court of France, the Queen asked him,—‘Why, Marshal, as you lay several days in sight of your enemy, *why did you not take him?*’ The general shrewdly replied,—‘Should I have taken him, I was afraid *all Paris would have taken me.*’ My Lords, there are three millions of whigs. Three millions of whigs, with arms in their hands, are a very formidable body. It was the whigs, my Lords, who set his Majesty’s royal ancestors upon the throne of England. I hope there are yet double the

number of whigs in England that there are in America. I hope the whigs of both countries will join and make common cause. Ireland is with America to a man. The whigs in that country *will*, and those of this country *ought*, to think the American cause *their own*. They are allied to each other in sentiment and interest; united in one great principle of defence and resistance. They ought therefore, and will, run to embrace and support their brethren.

"The *cause* of 'ship-money' was the *cause* of all the whigs in England. 'You shall not take *my* money without *my* consent,' is the doctrine and language of whigs. It is the doctrine and language of whigs in America and whigs here. It is the doctrine, in support of which, I do not know how many names I could—I may call in this House. Among the *living* I cannot say how many would join with me, and maintain these doctrines with their blood. But among the *dead* I could raise an host innumerable. And, my Lords, at this day there are very many sound, substantial, honest whigs, who *ought*, and who *will* consider the American controversy as a *great common cause*.

"Consistent with the preceding doctrines and with what I have ever, and shall continue to maintain, I shall oppose America, whenever I see her aiming at throwing off the navigation act, and other regulatory acts of trade made *bonâ fide* for that purpose, and wisely framed and calculated for reciprocation of interest, and the general, extended welfare and security of the whole empire. [*What is the difference between these sentiments and those of JUNIUS respecting the sovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies? I see none.*] It is suggested that Independence is their design. I see no evidence of it. But to come at a certain knowledge of their sentiments and designs on this head, it would be proper first to do them justice, before you treat them as aliens, rebels, and traitors." *

* SAMUEL ADAMS, who took the lead in Massachusetts, after the retirement of James Otis, always contemplated INDEPENDENCE. He

“Deeply impressed, my Lords, with the importance of taking some healing measures at this most alarming, distracted state of our affairs, though bowed down with a cruel disease, I have crawled to this house to give you my best experience and counsel ; and my advice is, to beseech his Majesty, that, in order to open the way toward an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities, and preventing any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, it may please his Majesty to send immediate orders to General Gage for removing his Majesty’s forces from the town of Boston. [Here his Lordship repeated the motion at length.]

“This is the best I can think of. It will convince America, that you mean to try her cause in the spirit and by the laws of freedom and fair inquiry, and not by codes of blood. How can she now trust you, with the bayonet at her breast ? She has all the reason in the world, now, to believe you mean her death or bondage.

“Thus entering on the threshold of this business, I will knock at your gates for justice without ceasing, unless inveterate infirmities stay my hand. My Lords, I pledge myself never to leave this business ; I will pursue it to the end in every shape. I will never fail in my attendance on it, at every step and period of this great matter, unless nailed down to my bed by the severity of disease. There is no time to be lost ; every moment is big with danger. Nay, while I am speaking, the decisive blow may have been struck, and millions involved in the consequences. The very first drop of blood will make a wound that will not easily be skinned over. Years, perhaps ages, may not heal it. It will be an “*irritabile vulnus*,” a wound of that rancorous, malignant, corroding, festering na-

fixed his dauntless eye and incorruptible heart on that great object, and conducted accordingly with consummate wisdom and address ; and he was amply rewarded by seeing his country in full possession of it, and in seeing his kindred co-patriot, *John Adams*, received by George the Third as our first ambassador, and the same gentleman elevated afterwards to the Presidency of these United States.

ture, that, in all probability, it will mortify the whole body." [This was not an oratorical exaggeration. Three months after Lord Chatham uttered this solemn warning to King and Parliament, blood was drawn at Lexington, 12 miles from Boston, and a few weeks afterwards, the sanguinary battle of Bunker Hill was fought, within three miles of the table on which I am now writing.*]

"Let us then, my Lords, set to this business in earnest, not take it up by bits and scraps, as formerly, just as exigencies pressed, without any regard to the general relations, connexions, and dependencies. I could not, by any thing I have said, my Lords, be thought to encourage America to proceed beyond a right line. I reprobate all acts of violence by her mobility; but when her *inherent constitutional rights* are invaded,—those rights which she has an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of, by the fundamental laws of the English constitution, and engrafted thereon by the unalterable laws of nature, then I own myself an American, and feeling myself such, shall, to the verge of my life, vindicate those rights against all men who strive to trample upon or oppose them."

This speech amply evinced, that neither severe illness, increased years, nor three years' retirement, had damped a spark of his former fire. It blazed as ever in matchless eloquence. Most men thought, Lord Chatham never shone in such overwhelming force and splendor as on this great question,—the union or division of a mighty empire,—peace or a civil war. Dr. Franklin, who was in the House of Lords, said of it,

* *Lord Mansfield* used to observe, that nothing was more false than modern history. We think so too, when we read such histories of the American revolution and war as that by *Stedman*, and find him relied on, as accurate, by writers of the character of *Adolphus* and *Bisset*, who have mistakes enough without adopting his. Even the battleground of *Bunker hill* is represented as a very steep hill; whereas every part of it can be ascended on a trot in a coach; and a lady may trot her horse over any part of it. Foreigners express surprise on viewing the gentle slope.

“that he had seen, in the course of life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence, but in this instance he saw both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible.” * There certainly are in it indications of deep anxiety, beyond the studied rules of oratory,—a fearful apprehension, an ominous something, appalling one of the most courageous Peers, that perhaps ever raised his voice in England,—a prospect of things, of acts, and consequences, which the mind of the monarch seemed insensible to. “While I am now speaking,” said the prophetic statesman, “the blow may be struck, and millions involved in the consequences.” Less than an hundred days after this, blood was drawn in this vicinity, and the jewel, which rendered the British crown worth wearing, was stricken from it by a species of suicide ! and the consequences have been greater than any king, conqueror, or individual reformer ever effected.

Lord CAMDEN, the intimate and confidential friend of Lord Chatham, spoke next on the side of America. On this memorable occasion, he was said to equal Chatham in every thing but fire, pathos, and a certain inimitable dignity of manner. In knowledge of law no man in the realm surpassed him. We dwell with great satisfaction on his weighty discourse, for his authority in the great American question, and because JUNIUS esteemed *Lord Camden* the only man worthy to complete the task he himself began ; for to this luminary of the law, and firm friend of the constitution, he “turns with pleasure from that barren waste in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile in every great and good qualification.” To this apparent friend and legal oracle, the great unknown says, “I call you, in the name of the English nation, to stand forth in defence of the laws of your country, and to exert, in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities with which you were entrusted for the benefit of mankind.”—“When the contest turns upon the interpretation of

* Letter to Lord Stanhope.

the laws, you cannot, without a formal surrender of all your reputation, yield the post of honor even to Lord Chatham. Considering the situation and abilities of *Lord Mansfield*, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that, in my judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom."

But to return to the speech of Lord Camden. After speaking of the nature of property, the right of taxation, and its inseparability from representation, his Lordship said, "I will not enter into the large field of collateral reasoning, applicable to the abstruse distinctions touching the omnipotence of Parliament. The declaratory law sealed my mouth. But this I will say, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a *common lawyer*, YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO TAX AMERICA. The natural rights of man and the immutable laws of nature are all with that people. I have searched the matter; I repeat it, my Lords, YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO TAX AMERICA. Much stress is laid on the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, and so far as the doctrine is directed to its proper object, I accede to it. But it is equally true, according to all approved writers on government, that *no man*, agreeably to the principles of natural and civil liberty, *can be divested of any part of his property without his consent*. Every thing has been staked upon this single position, that *acts of Parliament must be obeyed*. But this general, unconditional, unlimited assertion, I am far from thinking applicable to every possible case that may arise in the turn of times. For my part I conceive, that a power resulting from *trust*, arbitrarily exercised, may be *lawfully* resisted, whether the power is lodged in a collective body, or in a single person; in the few or the many; however modified makes no difference. Whenever the trust is wrested to the injury of the people; whenever oppression begins, all is unlawful and unjust; and resistance of course becomes lawful and right. But some Lords tell us, and that seriously, that administration must reduce the Americans to obedience and submission; that is, you must make

them absolute and infamous slaves, and then,—What?—we will give them full liberty. Ah! is this the nature of man? No! no! my Lords! I would not trust myself, American as I am in principle, in this situation. In that case, I do not think that I should be for giving them liberty. No! if they submitted to such unjust, such cruel, such degrading slavery, I should think they were made for slaves, that their servility was suited to their nature and genius. I should think they would best serve this country as their slaves, that their servility would be for the benefit of this country, and I should be for keeping such *Cappadocians* in a state of servitude, such as was suited to their constitution.

“Some Lords speak much against *resistance* to acts of Parliament. *Kings, Lords, and Commons* are fine sounding names. But, my Lords, acts of Parliament have been resisted in all ages. *Kings, Lords, and Commons* may become tyrants as well as others. Tyranny in *one or more* is the same. Somebody asked the great Mr. *Selden* * in what law-book, in what records or archives of the state you might find the law for resisting tyranny. ‘I don’t know,’ said Selden, ‘whether it would be worth your while to look deeply into books upon this matter; but I will tell you what is most certain, that it has always been the Custom of England, and the Custom of England is the law of the land.’” Lord Camden then referred to some writer who seemed to be present; doubtless Judge Blackstone, “who considers ‘the Revolution’ as the only precedent; and that the various circumstances, events, and incidents, which may justify resistance cannot be defined; but the people at large will judge of their welfare and happiness, and *act* accordingly. The same writer says, whenever a case exactly similar, in all its parts and circumstances, to ‘the revolution,’ when a case shall run upon *all fours* like that, then the law seems to be settled, that resistance is lawful. I do not pretend,” says his Lordship, “to quote his

* Called by *Grotius* the glory of England.

words ; I think his meaning is very much as I have stated it ; but undoubtedly in many cases, in many respects, dissimilar, but in equal degree tyrannical and oppressive, resistance may be lawful ; and the people in all ages, countries, and climes, have, at times, known these things ; and they have, and they will for ever act accordingly.”

JUNIUS hints at this *custom, or law of the land*, again and again. There is no sudden thought, train of ideas, trait of principle, chain of reasoning, nor any thing respecting America or Britain, in the Letters of JUNIUS, contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the sentiments maintained by Lord Chatham and by his intimate friend Lord Camden. They seem kindred souls ; and I have long believed, that *Earl Camden* knew the writer of JUNIUS. Lord Camden said in the House of Lords, “I accepted the great seals without conditions ; I meant not therefore to be trammelled by his Majesty—I beg pardon,—by his ministers ; but I have suffered myself to be so too long. For some time I have beheld, with silent indignation, the arbitrary measures of the minister. I have often drooped and hung down my head in council, and disapproved, by my looks, those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent. I will do so no longer ; but openly and boldly speak my sentiments.” *—“The ministry, by their violent and tyrannical conduct, had alienated the minds of the people from his Majesty’s government, I had almost said, from his person ; and in consequence a spirit of discontent had spread into every corner of the kingdom, and was every day increasing ; and if some methods are not devised to appease the clamors so universally prevalent, I do not know but the people, in despair, may become their own avengers, and take the redress of grievances into their own hands.” †

* Lord ELDON said, in the House of Peers, that “the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, if not himself a lawyer, must certainly have written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers.”

† Adolphus’s History of England. Vol. i. p. 371.

CHAPTER IX.

STRATAGEMS AND SUBTERFUGES OF POLITICIANS. JUNIUS'S CO-OPERATION WITH THE WHIG-PARTY. CHATHAM NEVER COUNTENANCED AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY. THIS ALWAYS MAINTAINED BY SAMUEL ADAMS IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND BY STEPHEN HOPKINS IN RHODE ISLAND. SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER OF SAMUEL ADAMS. INDEPENDENCY NEVER LOST SIGHT OF IN MASSACHUSETTS, CONCEDED BY THE AUTHOR—CONFIRMED BY CHALMERS. MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

WE have, in our two last Chapters, scrambled through a rough and intricate passage, crowded with natural difficulties, and some obstacles thrown purposely in the way of the traveller, to confound his calculations, by turning a portion of plain road into pathless confusion, where the mind, perplexed with mazes, was at times bewildered, but not discouraged; for while earth confounded us, the sun in the firmament, source of light and emblem of truth, was our guide and comfort.

Rigid moralists tell us, that a truly honest man dares no more *look* an untruth than utter one. There is, be sure, a lamentable difference between what ought to be and what is. The closet philosopher and the secluded female may lay down rules, and weep that so few are disposed to follow them. One of them says, under the head of "*Lies of Benevolence*," * "My own opinion is, which I give with great humility, that Truth is never to be violated, or withheld in order to deceive; but I know myself to be in such a painful minority on this subject, that I almost doubt of the correctness of my own judgment." It is a fact, that the sacred history, written for our instruction, celebrates the names of very few persons of inviolable truth and strict integrity. Modern history but echoes the ancient on this sad subject. "*The Icon Basilike*," written

* Mrs. Opie.

by Doctor Gauden, who was made a bishop for it, was palmed on the public as the pious production of King Charles the First, and is believed to be from the pen of that monarch, by numbers in England and a few in America, at this day.*

Our own countryman, *Franklin*, practised a refined stroke of deception to benefit his country, by imposing a newspaper, printed in his own house in France, for one printed in Boston, which completely deceived the British Legation at Paris. The anecdote is worth recording here.

While the Doctor was soliciting the government of France to form an alliance offensive and defensive with the new States of America, the English ambassador near that court sent a *genuine* Boston newspaper to the French minister, containing an account of the defeat of the Americans with great loss; which statement was authentic, and it retarded the negotiation. Franklin, who, every body knows, was originally a printer, thereupon set to work in his own house, where he always kept a complete printing apparatus, and directly printed a counterfeit Boston newspaper, containing advertisements, anecdotes, speculations, and a little of every thing common to our public prints in that day, together with an official account of a victory gained over the British troops, with loss of their cannon, &c. This was sent to the French minister, and he sent it to Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, who was confounded by the sight of it. Franklin took special care to represent the *genuine* American newspaper to be one of the New York forgeries, not then uncommon at the British head quarters, and that which came through him the only true one. Who thought the worse of the American minister for the deception? So far from being considered, what it really was, a deliberate lie, it

* Lord Clarendon knew, negatively, that *Charles the First* did not write the *Icon Basilike*, and, positively, that Gauden, *Bishop of Winchester* did write it. See his Letter to Gauden, March 13, 1661; yet he favored the deception by his silence. Johnson quotes, in his Dictionary, *King Charles* as the author, and Dr. Webster is perpetuating the deception.

added to the renown of the philosopher and politician, proving him to be a match for the diplomatists of the old world, and qualified to negotiate with them. Even the modern *Moses* acted deceptions in his military movements ; as at Cambridge, when he drove General Howe out of Boston ; and deceived Clinton before New York, precursory to his fatal blow against Lord Cornwallis in Virginia.

After these examples, and many more that might be urged, why should we lay any great stress upon the assertions of JUNIUS, whenever they regard the vital secret of his personality ? We mean not to justify falsification, or to countenance equivocation or evasion, but only to show what has been practised by eminent politicians in all countries and ages of the world, when any great and very important public object was in hand. Hitherto our own government has kept her white robes free from every stain, as a government, whatever may have been the wary and cunning conduct of individual agents and servants of it. We cannot, however, too often remind the reader of the singularly perilous situation of JUNIUS, cased up, face and all, in complete armour. He says, in a private letter to his printer, Woodfall, " I must be more cautious than ever.— I am sure I should not survive discovery three days ; or if I should, they would attain me by bill." In a letter to Mr. Wilkes, in September, 1771, he says, " I willingly accept as much of your friendship as you can impart to a man whom you will assuredly never know. Beside personal consideration, if I were known, I could no longer be an useful servant to the public."—" I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate." He really presents a singular phenomenon in history.

" One of the greatest difficulties, in fixing upon any one person the character of JUNIUS, is," says the Reminiscent Butler, " to find one, who, like him, was, at once, well acquainted with the circle of the court, with city conflicts, with the public offices of government, and with the characters and habits of the leaders of the parties and their runners." Whether our hy-

pothesis increases or diminishes this difficulty, we leave to the future consideration of the reader. On any other, difficulties multiply to an extent that is discouraging.

We can cite several passages to show, that to speak truth concerning *himself*, by no means entered into the plan of JUNIUS. He wrote a letter signed "*Anti-Fox*," in reply to a pert one, written by the afterwards famous Charles Fox, when a mere youth, in which our author says, "*I know nothing of JUNIUS.*" Mr. Woodfall knew, that the assertion was untrue. In the pages of JUNIUS, we discover under the thin guise of carelessness, and now and then a sly air of artlessness, a studied artifice to conceal his rank and condition. When predicting that his book will be transmitted to posterity, he artfully changes his tone, and says, in gentle accents, "Mine, I confess, are humble labors. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the people." After telling us, that he is a plain, unlettered man, he, in the same humble strain, says, "I should be inconsistent with the principles I profess, if I declined an appeal to the good sense of the *people*, or did not willingly submit myself to the judgment of my *peers*"; as if he was one of the undistinguished commonalty. But whenever JUNIUS addresses personages of the highest rank, and him with whom there is no competition, there is a tone of equality, which Dean Swift was unable to assume and maintain with credit. In JUNIUS it fits as naturally as his skin; in Swift it resembles a dramatist, his elbows and his immovable features appearing through the disguise. But JUNIUS is always dignified. In his public letters, we see him in his robes; in his private ones, in his rich gown and slippers, and always the nobleman. That he was a man past the noon of life, appears from several circumstances. In a letter to Mr. Wilkes, in August 21, 1771, which, though lengthy, is not a long one, he concludes with saying, "I am heartily weary of writing, and shall reserve another subject on which I mean to address you." And in a note to the same gentleman, thanking him for his offer of tickets to the Lord Mayor's ball, he says, "But alas!

my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner." And in writing to him again in September 18, he thus expresses his personal feelings; "In pursuing such inquiries, I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect every thing from books, or common conversation. The pains I took with that paper upon privilege were greater than I can express to you. Yet after I had blinded myself with pouring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion with an air of carelessness." * Here we see an infirm, old man, spectacles and all. We, however, reiterate the observation, that, whenever JUNIUS mentions himself, or speaks of Lord Chatham, it is in a very cautious and guarded manner, or in a parenthesis; and never in a style to be construed into contempt. Thus, in a note to Mr. Woodfall, he says, "By your affected silence, you encourage the idle opinion that I am the author of the 'WHIG,' though you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the writer nor his *Idol*." This *idol* was Lord Chatham himself, whom the whig panegyricizes in very warm terms.

In Letter XIV. under the signature of *Philo-Junius*, he says, "The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends,—the age and incapacity of Lord Chatham, the debility of Lord Rockingham, or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes." To which Mr. Heron subjoins this note.—"Lord Chatham, having, from early life, suffered much by the gout, was, at this time, exceedingly afflicted with it. But he had often opportunities to show, after this period, that the vigor of his mind remained unconquered by the infirmities of his body. To the last, he was able to shake the Senate, even with more energetic and impressive eloquence, than in the first pride and ambition of his youth."

* We, on this side of the Atlantic, can enter into his feelings in this respect. We may make ridiculous mistakes in trifling facts, which a Londoner might answer in a minute.

We may remark, amongst other things, in this miscellaneous chapter, that Lord Chatham, in a speech in Parliament in 1770, makes bitter and fretful complaints of the hypocritical conduct of the Duke of Grafton, during his illness at Bath and Hainpstead, and insinuates, more than once, that the Duke had dealt treacherously with him. Now, it is worthy of remark, that JUNIUS, in the paragraph immediately following the strange eulogy on Lord Chatham already mentioned, says, "My detestation of the Duke of Grafton is not founded upon his treachery to any individual, though I am willing enough to suppose, that, in public affairs, it would be impossible to desert or betray Lord Chatham, without doing an essential injury to the country. My abhorrence to the Duke arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction, that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England, than even the unfortunate ambition of *Lord Bute*." How happened it, that Junius never speaks of Lord Bute in that bitter style of abhorrence, which he utters towards Grafton, Bedford, Barrington, Mansfield, and some other noblemen? * In the same very able letter (LIV.) he says, alluding to the politics of the city of London, "It is unnecessary to bind Lord Chatham by the written formality of an engagement [as some in the city proposed.] He has publicly declared himself a convert to triennial Parliaments; and though I have long been convinced, that this is the only possible resource we have left to preserve the substantial freedom of the constitution, I do not think we have a right to determine against the integrity of Lord Rockingham or his friends,"—amongst whom stood conspicuously Lord Chatham.

On this passage Mr. Heron remarks, that "JUNIUS here evaded any decision between the principles of the two subdivisions of the *whig-party*. He was afraid to stir up any discussion, which might tend to set them, unseasonably, at vari-

* It is pretty evident that Lord Chatham, as well as Junius, believed that the ruling Dæmon, in the interior, secret cabinet, was a female.

ance. The grand distinction between them, as to principle, respected the reform of Parliament. The Newcastle and Rockingham whigs were disposed to preserve *septennial* Parliaments; while the followers of Pitt and the Grenvilles were half inclined to gratify the popular cry for the restoration of triennial elections. We cannot enough admire the address with which JUNIUS praises and justifies BOTH, and strives to confirm their mutual reconciliation, yet without making himself responsible for the principles and conduct of either."

To these apt remarks we may add, what is worth consideration, the delicate situation of Lord Chatham, as it regarded his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, and the Marquis of Rockingham, at *that time*. Lord Chatham, naturally overbearing and peremptory, had fallen out with both these distinguished members of the great whig-party. It had been a division, or rather distinction, without absolute discord, until a personal coolness and estrangement took place between the two brothers, on account of some ministerial dispositions misunderstood. By the intervention of common friends, a reconciliation was at length brought about with both, adding strength to their former amity. This unhappy schism, and the recently restored harmony, will account, on our hypothesis, for the singular cast of the *Fifty-fourth* Letter of JUNIUS, which, while it bears strong marks of wonderful powers of mind, bears not a few traits of embarrassment, and seems employed as a vehicle to convey assistance in bolstering up, in the view of the public, the invalid Lord Chatham, who was in that cautious and delicate state which always follows the re-union of broken friendship.

Beside the cautious phraseology, and sly air of affected carelessness, or, if you please, studied artlessness, practised by JUNIUS, whenever he mentions Lord Chatham, it is a circumstance equally remarkable, that his Lordship has never once uttered the name of JUNIUS, in any speech that has come down to us, even while earnestly discussing the subject of the prosecution of Woodfall for publishing *his* Letter to the King. It is ab-

ways Woodfall, and never JUNIUS. Among peculiarities, how came it to pass that a character so prominent, so very active, efficient, and respectable, as Richard Grenville, *Lord Temple*, is never once named in the Letters of JUNIUS? Again, how came it, that *Lord CHATHAM*, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, the object of JUNIUS's veneration, was never called on by him to aid the *cause* in which he risked his life, and more than life?

Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and *Henry Fox*, *Lord Holland*, were school-fellows. The latter was a great favorite of George the Second, who wished Chatham to admit him into his administration, but the minister refused the request of his sovereign peremptorily; yet was there a steady personal friendship between those two noblemen. Lord Holland was the much approved paymaster-general, during the whole of Mr. Pitt's triumphant administration; a post of great trust, in which integrity was a *sine quâ non*, and where dishonor could not remain while that minister was at the helm.

The conduct of Lord Chatham towards Lord Holland is entitled to particular notice, inasmuch as the like partiality is discoverable in JUNIUS towards that nobleman. The younger Woodfall remarks, that "JUNIUS appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or, at least, a partiality for Lord Holland." The late celebrated *Charles Fox*, son of the nobleman just mentioned, when young and forward, had the hardihood to attack JUNIUS, who condescended to reply to him, under the signature of ANTI-FOX, bearing traits of authenticity; and, after saying that "*he knew nothing of JUNIUS*"! adds, "I see plainly, that he designedly spared Lord Holland and his family. Whether JUNIUS should be wantonly provoked, are questions worthy the BLACK BOY's * consideration." Now Pitt and the father of Charles were friends from boyhood. Fox was the elder by three years, and very much attached to Mr. Pitt through life; yet they seldom drew to-

* *Charles Fox* was of so dark a complexion, that he looked more like a Portuguese Jew than a Christian.

gether in politics, whether in the Commons or House of Peers. Nevertheless they had a personal regard for each other. Fox was a quick, warm-tempered man, yet his coolness and patience, under the tart remarks of Pitt, were noticed as far back as the year 1755. Mr. Fox, however, appeared always to delight in praising the oratorical powers of his old friend and political opponent ; while he, in return, speaks handsomely of his school-mate ; and when they did wrangle, it was more like the querimoniousness of brothers than real enmity. They were very different men in constitution and habits. The bond of attachment between friends in both sexes is not always similarity of disposition ; but often the reverse. Mr. Fox was a strong-fibred, hardy, healthy man, frank, open, and agreeable ; but impetuous in his temper, social, industrious in business, companionable, fond of drinking and gaming, with a strong bias to dissipation, and totally divested of that repellent atmosphere which surrounded the lofty Mr. Pitt. This same Lord Holland was a powerful speaker, and a good and candid judge of oratory in others ; but in the graces of elocution, in imagination, in fluency, in fire and pathos, greatly inferior to his friend Lord Chatham. Amid failings like these, which he transmitted to his favorite son, he was respected by all, as a man of honor, generosity, spirit, and veracity ; hence we wonder not that JUNIUS felt for him a friendly solicitude, when accused, by some of the city-patriots, of malversation in his office, as paymaster of the land forces.

Do these facts strengthen or weaken our hypothesis ?

In a sharp altercation between the two friends in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt took pains to remove every idea of personality to the other ; while Mr. Fox uttered several short and sullen compliments indicative of his veneration for the talents and open and manly conduct of Mr. Pitt, who, notwithstanding all that has been said, steadily rejected the overtures of Mr. Fox to be united with him in a proposed new administration. We think we could, with the help of Lord Chesterfield, explain this, were it to our purpose here ; but we must

not stray too far from our road, even in a chapter professedly miscellaneous. We shall only remark, that *Lord Bute*, who was not quite so bad a man as many in America have supposed, but who had more cunning than wisdom, courted the confidential friendship of the newly created Lord Holland, in order to make a complete breach between him and the nobleman whom Bute most dreaded. We would also remark, that it appears that Lord Chatham had the like feelings towards Lord Holland as towards his brother-in-law, George Grenville, —strong *personal* regard without *political* unity.

A sensible commentator on JUNIUS* observes, that all whom Lord Bute could consult, whether whigs or tories, agreed in one common desire to see Pitt and his family connexions, the Grenvilles, humbled and driven from office before they should be able to fortify themselves too strongly to be removed. The same commentator further remarks, that “the Grenvilles, the Earl of Chatham, the Marquis of Rockingham, and their respective adherents, supposed the business of government could not go on, unless the King should implicitly resign the whole ministerial powers into their hands; and that they were preparing, by every means, to secure, beyond the possibility of disappointment, the grand object of their expectations; and that, not unconscious of the strength of public opinion, they used every artifice to make it raise a voice continually louder and louder in their favor; and that JUNIUS, privy to *their* secrets, though *they* might not be conscious of *his*,† was willing to promote, in an exertion bolder and of greater effort, than any he had hitherto made, that success of his party, of which he was, perhaps, to share the spoils; that, with this view, he wrote his Letter to the King,

* Mr. Heron.

† “There did, and perhaps there still does exist, a private letter from JUNIUS to Mr. Grenville, professing political attachment, and at the same time discouraging all attempts to pluck off his mask.”—*Edin. Review* for June, 1826.

at a critical time, when they hoped to force themselves, in a body, into administration, by a consentaneous effort."

Although *Lord Chatham* was a great friend to the colonies, he never countenanced their independency, but uniformly maintained the supremacy of Parliament over them, yet denying its right to tax them without their consent; and he opposed, with all his powers, the rash attempt of George the Third to *try the question with America by force of arms*. As to our aiming at independency, he said he saw no evidence of it. Dr. Franklin declared, that he never heard the wish expressed by any order of men, in any part of America, nor under any circumstances, riotous or sober, from the pulpit to the bar-room of a country tavern. There are no traces of it in the writings or speeches of *James Otis*, nor a syllable to that effect in the Letters of Washington, prior to July, 1776. Nevertheless, the idea, *the wish, the intention and principle of it was cherished in New England* from the time of the first Governor *Winthrop*, to Governor SAMUEL ADAMS. Yes, the heroic passion of independence from Britain, from Europe, grew with our growth, and strengthened with our strength; and at last it was warmly advocated by Dr. Franklin in a celebrated publication entitled COMMON SENSE, the joint work of that great philosopher and *Thomas Paine*. Franklin laid the foundation of the structure and put up the frame-work, and Paine finished it in his strong and peculiar manner. My authority for saying this is my kinsman, *Dr. Fothergill*, in whose house I resided three years, and between whom and Franklin long subsisted the intimacy of congenial minds respecting American and British politics. Franklin's agency in that celebrated pamphlet is glanced at in his Memoirs.

With Franklin, next in affection, after America, was England; with Fothergill, next to England, were the colonies. They both wished that the British colors, the emblem of sovereignty, should be worn by America. With both, their union was a darling object. Fothergill went so far as to express in print a wish, that the British government would promote *schol-*

arships for Americans in their universities; and that they would give posts and benefits in this country to such Americans as had studied in England preferably to others, and that the government should permit such youths to pass to Europe in the king's ships *gratis*. Dr. Fothergill thought that this would unite more firmly characters of the first order, by their mixing with the British at the universities, and diffusing thence a spirit of inquiry after America, of which country the English were strangely ignorant, and thus cement friendships on both sides; and that this would be a more lasting benefit to each country, than all the ships and armies that could be sent across the Atlantic. Few if any Englishmen was better acquainted with the American colonies than Dr. Fothergill. He communicated his ideas, occasionally, through the London newspapers, in essays under various signatures, many of which I transcribed for the press. As early as 1765, when he saw measures, which appeared to him ill-timed and impolitic, he published a pamphlet of thirty-five pages, entitled, "*Considerations relative to the North American Colonies*," which evinces his affection for both countries.

He was family-physician to most of the old nobility, as well as many of the new, and was occasionally called into consultation at the bed-side of the highest in rank and station; by which he had an opportunity of knowing the sentiments of the *prime*, as well as the secondary movers of the political machine,—its wheels as well as its leaden weights. I well remember *Lord Shelburne* calling at Dr. Fothergill's, and leaving a copy of "*Common Sense*," at its very first appearance in London. For several days the good Doctor appeared taciturn and abstracted. Within a week perhaps, he gave me the pamphlet to read, charging me to let no one see it. I read it as a Spaniard or Portuguese would read an interdicted book in the vicinity of the inquisition. It gave to my thoughts a new direction, and occupied my mind day and night. It raised in me a new train of prospective ideas,—glorious ones, be sure, yet dreadful,—“the battle of the warrior, with confused

noise, and garments rolled in blood ! ” Franklin and Fothergill corresponded now and then, after the former became our minister at the court of France. The latter told me that he saw the soul of Franklin in every page of that forceable pamphlet. I was the bearer of a long letter, which Dr. Fothergill delivered to me open, for Dr. Franklin in Paris, in the summer of 1780, being a plan of reconciliation and general pacification, resembling, in some respects, “ *the Holy Alliance.* ” † After reading it, Dr. Franklin said to me, “ Your kinsman, and my most excellent friend, has a better opinion of the world than I have. He has seen only the best side of it. I have seen both. He judges men by his own good heart and candid mind : ”

But to return to the subject of the Independence of the Colonies. The idea, nay the principle of it, was more or less cherished from the beginning of the settlement of Massachusetts, especially in Boston ; and particularly by SAMUEL ADAMS, whose name and character I revere as *the great file-leader of our revolution.* Stephen Hopkins, for many years governor of the colony of Rhode Island, the oldest man in our first Congress, and the senior signer of the *Declaration of Independence in July, 1776*, repeatedly uttered that language to confidential friends. He was in fact the *Samuel Adams of Rhode Island.* It is a remarkable circumstance, that the character, standing, and agency of Samuel Adams, are better known out of New England, than in his native Boston ; for the grave has closed over nearly every one of his fellow-laborers, and left a generation that knew him not.

Mr. *Adolphus* speaks of him, in his History of England, thus. “ Samuel Adams, a distinguished leader of the American councils, noted for subtlety, perseverance, and inflexibility, boasted in all companies [he was no *boaster*, but a polite gentleman of modest carriage], that he had toiled twenty years to accomplish the measure [independency]. During that time,

† It was a college of crowned heads to keep the peace of the world, by restraining those passions whence come wars and fightings.

he had carried his art and industry so far, as to search after every rising genius in the New England seminaries, employed his utmost abilities to fix in their minds the principles of American independency, and now triumphed in his success." *

The Rev. Dr. *William Gordon*, another Englishman; who resided a number of years near Boston as a parish minister, says, "that *Samuel Adams* became a member of the legislature in September, 1765; that he was zealously attached to the rights of Massachusetts in particular, and the colonies in general, and but little to his own personal interest; that he was well qualified to second Mr. Otis, and learned in time to serve his *own political views* by the influence of the other; that he was soon noticed by the House, chosen and continued their clerk from year to year, by which means he had the custody of their papers; and of these he knew how to make an advantage for political purposes. He was frequently upon important committees, and acquired great ascendancy by discovering a readiness to acquiesce in the proposals and amendments of others, while the end aimed at by them did not eventually frustrate his leading designs. He showed a pliability and complaisance in these smaller matters which enabled him, in the issue, to carry those of much greater consequence; and there were," says the historian, "many favorite points, which the 'sons of liberty,' in Massachusetts meant to carry, *even though the stamp-act should be repealed.*" †

President Jefferson, in a letter to Samuel Adams's grandson, says of him, "He was truly a great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immoveable in his purposes, and had, I think, a greater share than any other member [of Congress], in advising and directing our measures in the northern war. As a speaker, he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake, ‡ whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness, made him truly our bulwark in de-

* Vol. ii. p. 363.

† Letter IV. p. 152. New York edition. 1789.

‡ John Adams.

bate. But *Samuel Adams*, although not of fluent elocution, was so rigorously logical, so clear in views, abundant in sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly, where the froth of declamation was heard with the most sovereign contempt."

The following is a letter from Mr. Jefferson to the author, dated Monticello, January 31, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 15th was received on the 27th, and I am glad to find the name and character of *Samuel Adams* coming forward, and in so good hands as I suppose them to be. I was the youngest man but one in the old Congress, and he the oldest but one, as I believe. His only senior, I suppose, was *Stephen Hopkins*, of and by whom the honorable mention made in your letter was richly merited.

"Although my high reverence for *Samuel Adams* was returned by habitual notices from him, which highly flattered me, yet the disparity of age prevented intimate and confidential communications. I always considered him, more than any other member, the *fountain* of our important measures; and although he was neither an eloquent nor easy speaker, whatever he said was sound, and commanded the profound attention of the House.

"In the discussions on the floor of Congress, he reposed himself on our main pillar in debate, *Mr. John Adams*. These two gentlemen were verily a host in our councils. Comparisons with their associates, Northern or Southern, would answer no profitable purpose; but they would suffer by comparison with none. I salute you with perfect esteem and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Dr. Waterhouse, Cambridge."

At the close of a very interesting letter written to me by the first President Adams, January 30, 1818, he says, "If ever human beings had a right to say

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores;
and

Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes;

they were *James Otis* and SAMUEL ADAMS. And to *them* ought statues to be erected, and not to JOHN."

If ever men *labored for others, and not for themselves*, they were those early patriots; and should Boston ever honor herself by erecting a monument to *Samuel Adams*, SIC VOS NON VOBIS should be inscribed on it.

Whatever construction may be put on it, I am led, in honor of truth, to concede, that the leading men in the colonies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and, I believe, Connecticut, contemplated independency from the first settlement of the country; and that *Samuel Adams* was the first man who embodied that noble sentiment, and, with caution and great address, diffused that doctrine from North to South, until it became, in the year *seventy-six*, the *vital principle* in our constitution.

The question, With whom, or where commenced the revolution? is as difficult as that of the first inventors of a thousand good things. *President Jefferson* in a letter to me, dated March 3, 1818, says, "I suppose it would be difficult to trace our revolution to its first embryo. We do not know how long it was hatching in the British cabinet, before they ventured to make the first of the experiments which were to develope it in the end, and to produce complete parliamentary supremacy. Those you mention in Massachusetts, as preceding the stamp-act, might be the first visible symptoms of that design. The proposition of that act, in 1764, was the first here. Your opposition, therefore, preceded ours, as occasion was sooner given there than here; and the truth, I suppose, is, that the opposition, in every colony, began whenever the encroachment was presented to it. This question of priority is as the inquiry would be, who first of the three hundred Spartans offered his name to *Leonidas*. I shall be happy to see justice done to the merits of all, by the unexceptionable umpire of dates and facts, and especially from the pen which is proposed to be employed in it."

Samuel Adams was graduated at the university of Cambridge in the year 1740, when he discussed the following thesis, "*Whether it be lawful to resist the SUPREME MAGISTRATE, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?*" He maintained the affirmative, which was remarkable for that time and place; for it was in presence of the King's Governor and his Council, in the reign of George the Second, while *Sir Robert Walpole* was prime minister, and when these colonies had nothing to complain of from Britain, the aged monarch being popular, and we Americans very loyal. Then England was called our "*home*," and we almost adored *King, Lords, and Commons*, and hated the very name of a Frenchman and Spaniard, and abhorred, alike, the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and an English Bishop.

When SAMUEL ADAMS attained his first degree in the arts at Cambridge, JOHN ADAMS was five years old, and *Josiah Quincy* and *Joseph Warren* yet unborn. *James Otis* was three years after Samuel Adams in the catalogue of graduates, and Mr. Quincy twenty-three years after him. JOHN ADAMS was graduated in 1755, which was fifteen years after the graduation of Samuel. Samuel Adams was distinguished at the university for a serious and retired cast of mind. He meant to devote himself to the gospel ministry, yet he paid great attention to Greek and *Roman* history. *Livy* and *Tacitus* were his favorite authors; but *Divinity* was the profession he meant to live and die by. What particularly diverted him from it, we are unable to say; probably the terrible and gloomy part of the system of Calvin then in vogue, a system founded on Scripture misunderstood.

The year Samuel Adams entered the university was the same in which *Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, entered the British Parliament, so that Mr. Adams must have seen the whole of that great statesman's career, from 1738 to 1778, when that nobleman died. During Pitt's administration, the Parliament was unanimous in supporting his measures. From 1757 to 1760, the British arms were successful in every quarter of the

globe ; the royal marine of France was reduced to *ten* ships of the line and a few frigates, while England was at the very pinnacle of her power and glory, with thirteen growing, happy, and grateful American colonies. But this enviable state did not last long. In 1760 King George the Second suddenly died, and his grandson reigned in his ~~stead~~. Then came in amongst us political sin and oppression, and their shadow, revenge ; then orders were sent from "*home*," enabling the King's collectors to command all sheriffs and constables to attend and aid them in *breaking open houses*, stores, shops, *cellars*, ships, bales, *trunks*, &c. &c. to search for goods, which had escaped paying certain taxes or duties, imposed by acts of Parliament, procured through the influence of certain royal governors and certain West India planters. Dreading the resistance of the Bostonians, the governor made the experiment first in Salem. But the Supreme Court, then sitting in that old, phlegmatic town, ordered that the "great question" of the legality of those *writs of assistance* should be argued in Boston. It was then, that *James Otis* burst forth, the blazing champion of the rights of the colonies. Knowing he had the law on his side, he gave a loose rein to his oratorical powers. Its coruscations and impetuosity dazzled and bore down the mildness of Thacher and the solemnity of Gridley. Such oratory was new to *John Adams*, and made a very strong impression on his young mind, and induced him to estimate *James Otis* fully equal to his value. He was, it is true, a very daring, disinterested, active, and valuable partisan ; yet was he under the control of cooler heads than his own. Some very important papers of that day (1768) were sketched by Mr. Otis, and then submitted to the revision and correction of *Samuel Adams* ; and this was a constant practice of that fiery orator. In fact there were few, if any, very important papers, published between 1764 and 1769, in Boston, that were not revised by the cool and solid judgment of the New England *Phocion*. Upon several communications sent to printers by Mr. *Josiah Quincy*, was written, "*Let Samuel Adams, Esq. correct the press.*" It cannot be

supposed, that this meant literary and verbal criticism, seeing Adams was the Gamaliel of Warren and Quincy. Otis was a learned lawyer, and, though generally charged *plus* with enthusiasm, was the very character those trying times required (he dared to say more in public than any other man); times, which also required the cooler heads of *Samuel Adams*, *Joseph Hawley*, and *James Bowdoin*, in Massachusetts, and of *John Dickinson* in Pennsylvania, and *Stephen Hopkins* in Rhode Island.

"Mr. Samuel Adams," says the historian Gordon, "long since said, in small, confidential companies, '*This country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it.*'" *

* An anecdote may show Mr. Adams's address and management in a popular assembly or "*Town-meeting*," when one portion of their business was an association not to import goods from Britain into Boston, until certain grievances were redressed.

A Mr. Mc ———, a Scotchman and large importer, refused to join the association. The Scotch, whatever they were in former reigns, were remarkable for their loyalty to George the Third, and are generally pretty stubborn where their interest is concerned. It was reported to a large town-meeting, convened in Faneuil Hall, that Mr. Mc ——— still refused to put his name to the non-importation agreement. Some were wroth on the occasion, which Mr. Samuel Adams by no means encouraged, for the *suaviter in modo* was a trait in his energetic character. The committee was directed to call on the recusant again; they returned with the same answer; when Mr. Adams rose up and moved, that the meeting (about two thousand persons) should resolve itself into a committee of the *whole* house, and wait upon Mr. Mc ———, at the close of the meeting, to urge his compliance with the general wish; which being agreed without a dissenting voice, they proceeded to transact the business before them.† Mr. Adams knew, that Mc ——— had friends in the meeting, some of whom immediately slipped away to inform him, that the *whole body* would, as a committee, wait upon him at the close of the meeting. The consequence was, as Mr. Adams expected. In the midst of their deliberations on other subjects, in pushes Mr. Mc ———, all in a foam, and bowing to the chairman and to Mr. Adams, told them that he was

† After this Samuel and John Adams opposed, in Congress, the non-importation scheme, lest the country should be exhausted of certain necessary articles *when they came to fight*.

When the noted Mr. Galloway and a few of his ignorant adherents were for entering their protest in Congress against an open rupture with Britain, Samuel Adams, rising slowly from his seat, said, "I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from Heaven, that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and *only ONE freeman* of a *thousand* survive, and retain his liberty. That *one* freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness, than a *thousand* slaves : let him propagate *his like*, and transmit to them what he had so nobly preserved." But Mr. James Otis maintained, "that we must and ought to yield obedience to an act of Parliament, though erroneous, till repealed ; that the power of Parliament was uncontrollable but by themselves." Samuel and John Adams spoke a different language.*

Chalmers, who is respectable authority, strengthens our assertions of an undeviating spirit of independency which ac-

ready and willing to put his name to the non-importation agreement ; after which Samuel Adams pointed to a seat near him, with a polite, condescending bow of protection in the presence of the people, which quieted the alarm of the discreet Scotchman, who was struck with dread at the idea of two thousand people presenting themselves before his dwelling, and wished to avoid the comminatory honor. The mob, which destroyed Lord Mansfield's house and set London on fire in twenty places, was not composed of any of those persons who were collected, in the day-time, in St. George's Fields, and who marched to the Parliament house, led by the crazy Lord George Gordon, who had no hand in the riots ; yet was *he* the remote cause of them.

Thus did Samuel Adams, poor as *Phocion*, devote a large portion of his life to the great cause of America, both as a contriver and executor, by steady and unwearied steps that never faltered. No monarch or state could, by rewards and honors, hire a man to neglect his own domestic affairs, and devote every hour of his life to offices of all kinds, as did this renowned patriot ; who, but for the death of his only son (who left a few thousand dollars) must have been buried at the public expense.

* John Adams, speaking in warm commendation of *Jefferson*, says, "Though a silent member, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees,—*not even SAMUEL ADAMS was more so*,—that he soon seized my heart."

tuated the first settlers of New England. This gentleman wrote his "Political Annals of the United Colonies," under the influence, and probably by direction of the British government, to prove the crying sin, that Massachusetts always aimed at independence. The work was written during our controversy with England. The author was a secretary in the colonial department, and had, as far as documents go, the best means of information. He says, Book I: ch. vi. "Several persons of considerable consequence in the nation, who had adopted the principles of the Puritans, and who wished to enjoy their own mode of worship, formed the resolution of emigrating to Massachusetts. But they felt themselves inferior neither to the governor nor assistants of the company. They saw and dreaded the inconvenience of being governed by laws *made for them without their consent*; and it appeared more rational to them, that the colony should be ruled by those who made it the place of their residence, than by men *dwelling at the distance of THREE THOUSAND MILES, over whom they had no control*. At the same time, therefore, that they proposed to transport themselves, their families, and their estates to that country, *they insisted* that the charter should be transmitted with them, and that the corporate powers which were conferred by it, should be executed, in future, in NEW ENGLAND." *

* It gives us pleasure to cite from any British work marked with the like good sense, ability, and candor, as that by *George Chalmers, Esq.*, after reading such accounts of our military affairs and measures, as are given by *Siedman, Bisset, and Adolphus*. Such provoking misrepresentations tend, more than any thing else, to perpetuate animosities. The former speaks of the Americans *scalping* some of the British prisoners at Lexington! By their accounts the British had only to march up to the Americans, and certain victory was the consequence; whereas all Boston, men and women, saw the British soldiers fly twice before an inferior number of raw militia at Bunker Hill, and on several other occasions. Three years afterwards, Lord George Germaine actually sent a vast number of *live* sheep and hogs to feed their conquering army, while there were millions of those brutes belonging to American farmers; which the owners of them were able to protect against both British

Beside civil liberty, our ancestors came with a determination to enjoy *religious* freedom, and they obtained it. "They left their native land," says JUNIUS to the King, "in search of freedom, and *found it in a desert.*" To escape from the tyranny of the English hierarchy was a powerful motive with the first emigrants. Archbishop *Laud* kept a jealous eye over New England. Charles the Second and Massachusetts, according to Chalmers, mutually hated and contemned and feared each other, because the one suspected its principles of attachment, and the other dreaded an invasion of its privileges. The General Court very early resolved, "That the patent or charter (under God) was the first and main foundation of the civil polity of Massachusetts; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic, which is vested with power to make freemen; that they have authority to choose a governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select representatives; that this government has ability to set up all kinds of offices; that the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select deputies have full jurisdiction, both legislative and executive, for the government of the people here, *without appeals* (excepting laws repugnant to the laws of England); that this company is privileged to defend itself against all who shall attempt its annoyance; that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, contrary to any of its just ordinances (not repugnant to the laws of England), is an infringement of its rights."* Yet our resistance to British encroachments, in later times, has been stigmatized by the odious name of *rebellion*! Our ancestors quitted OLD England with a determination to enjoy *self-government* in the NEW; and we always acted up to this heroic resolution; for as early as 1652 a mint was erected in Boston, when the government exercised that prerogative of sovereignty, *coining money*.† After the death of *Oliver Cromwell*, whom our fore-

and German marauders. Such facts must ever put to shame boastful declamation, and that gasconade which marks and mars too many of the British writers.

* Chalmers, Book I. p. 243.

† Bearing the stamp of a pine tree.

fathers feared and flattered, Massachusetts refused to acknowledge the authority of his son *Richard* any more than that of the Parliament, or Protector, because *all submission*, says Chalmers, *would have been inconsistent with HER INDEPENDENCE.*

Lord Chatham and *Camden* doubtless knew all these things, while *Lord North* and his short-sighted master were as ignorant of them as *Lord Bute* himself.

One of the most fortunate steps of the sagacious *Samuel Adams* was his yoking in with him the very rich and accomplished *John Hancock, Esq.* The cause of self-government is under great obligations to both. One gave to it his great mind, and the other his fortune; one obtained contemporary celebrity, the other, like Napoleon, trusted posterity.

How rarely do we find two men alike! Minds differ as much as countenances, yet that difference impedes not union. *Adams* and *Hancock* were very much unlike each other. Together they formed that potent weapon, the *arrow*,—the efficient *steel* and the *feather*. Like *Adams*, Mr. Hancock was a gentleman of an university education and cultivated taste; he was a remarkably good speaker, and resembled an English nobleman in dress, manners, style of living, and equipage, and was grievously tormented with gout. I have thought that the character of Mr. Hancock was a compound of that of the *Duke of Newcastle* and the *Duke of Grafton*, both of whom bustled at the court of London in the early part of the reign of George the Third; while that of Mr. Adams could not be so readily paralleled. It partook of our conception of *Phocion* among the Greeks, and of *Cato* among the Romans. With a countenance expressive of benevolence and good humor was united the inflexible virtue of a *Regulus*, dignified by a perfect command of temper.

That my venerated friend, JOHN ADAMS, was as staunch in his principles of independency as SAMUEL, no one can doubt, who knows the man and his whole history; but being a professional man, he had neither the time nor opportunity

of manifesting them so early, by a year or two, as his namesake.* The clear and cogent paragraphs and essays of *Samuel* appeared, like those of JUNIUS, in newspapers, prompt and to the purpose aimed at; whereas those of *John* were more labor-ed works, rich in authorities, profound in conception, strong in expression, and never confuted. *Samuel Adams* absolutely wielded that powerful engine, a *free press*, with the strong arm of a giant. But that was not all; he stood at the very avenue of public opinion as it regarded the cause of freedom or *whiggism*. *James Otis* was distinguished for the fire of genius, a blaze of eloquence, and a daring manner of expressing his brilliant ideas; yet he submitted his essays invariably to the mental strainer of the great patriot, as did other less distinguished ones. One day *John* and *Samuel Adams* were walking in the Boston Mall, and when they came opposite the stately mansion of Mr. *Hancock*, the latter turning to the former, said, with emphasis, "I have done a *very good* thing for our *cause* in the course of the past week, by enlisting the master of that house into it. He is well disposed and has great riches, and we can give him *consequence* to enjoy them." And Mr. *Hancock* did not disappoint his high expectations; for in spite of his occasional capriciousness, owing partly to disease, he threw all the weight of his fortune and extraordinary popularity into the scale of opposition to British encroachments. Every body knows, that *Hancock* and *Adams* were the only men excepted from the general amnesty by *Gage's* proclamation, issued by royal authority, which capped the climax of their renown.

It was not, however, until the year 1768, that the doctrine of independence assumed something like a system. If not an absolute, active body and soul, it was an embryo, which has grown in due time to a young *Hercules*, who, from first strangling serpents in his cradle, has, in his adult state, performed his

* *SAMUEL* and *JOHN ADAMS* had the same *Proavus*, or great grandfather, and, of course, were second cousins to each other. Their common ancestor emigrated from *Braintree* in England, and alighted upon *Mount Wollaston*; and called the town, after his native place, *Braintree*; a portion of which is now the town of *Quincy*.

series of wonders ; and is now transferred among the heavenly signs.

I cannot leave this sketch of the character of Samuel Adams, without adding the finishing stroke, expressive of his magnanimity. He always held up to an admiring populace the splendid picture of his friend Hancock, while he himself stood behind it, without allowing so much as his little finger to be seen.*

After the death of Governor Hancock, Mr. Adams was chosen Governor of Massachusetts (in 1794), and resigned the station after sustaining it three years.

The son of *Oxenbridge Thacher*, whom we have already mentioned, preached his funeral sermon, and said justly of him, "The dignity of his manners was well expressed by the majesty of his countenance ; an index of a mind never debased by grovelling ideas, nor occupied in contemplating low pursuits ; yet this appearance was accompanied with a suavity of temper, qualifying him for those charities and graces so highly ornamental to the most sublime and dignified character. Few are there who better discharged the social relations of life ; neither would it be easy to find a more tender husband, more affectionate parent, or more faithful friend. He would easily relax from severer care and study, to enjoy the delight of private conversation ; so that some, who disliked his politics, loved and revered him as a neighbour and friend. But though he could thus disrobe himself from more elevated duties to attend the calls of common life, yet his conduct and manners embraced such correct decorum as never to deserve a reproof from the wise and good. His house was the seat of do-

* *J. Adams* and *T. Jefferson* retained their characteristic faculties to the last, particularly the latter. But not quite so, *Samuel Adams*. Memory seemed to slip away from him faster than in either of the others ; and though he lost not his reasoning powers, the operation of his mind seemed like that of a complicated machine almost worn out by its incessant action ; yet it never lost its balance, but suffered a gradual and uniform decay, like falling to sleep through weariness, the result of a regular and temperate life.

mestic peace, of method and regularity. In a word, to borrow the language of a very great man, in describing the life and manners of a very good one,—“When did his walls ever witness any tumult or dissipation; when was any spectacle or conduct either to be seen or heard within them inconsistent with the discipline of a most venerable and holy man.” [Cicero’s Oration for *Deiotarus*, Governor of Galatia.]

Yet is there no monumental stone, erected any where, of this meritorious man, and no other memorial but what is upon paper written by others to tell that he ever existed!—if, indeed, we may except a brass field-piece, dedicated to him by the *general* CONGRESS, at Philadelphia, on which is inscribed, in bold relief, these words;

“The
ADAMS.

Sacred to Liberty.

This is one of four cannon, which constituted the whole train
of Field Artillery,

Possessed by the British Colonies of
NORTH AMERICA,

At the Commencement of the war on the
19th of April, 1775.

-This cannon and its fellow, belonging to a number of
citizens of *Boston*, were used in many
engagements during the war.

The other two, the property of the Government of
Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

By order of the UNITED STATES,
In Congress assembled,
May 19th,
1788.”

Why this brass field-piece is not placed on the floor of our State House near to the fine marble Statue of *Washington*, is a question hard to answer at this time.

CHAPTER X.

PARALLELISM BETWEEN JUNIUS'S LETTERS AND CHATHAM'S SPEECHES.

SHOULD these pages ever be read beyond the bounds of these United States, the distant reader may form some idea of the *great American* question from the preceding chapter, brief as it is. He will see the opinion of that oracle of the law, *Earl Camden*, respecting the *right* of the British Parliament to tax the Americans *without their consent*. Every one knows the opinion of Lord Chatham and of the leading whigs of England, who, on that subject, made a common cause with the Americans, notwithstanding the King ventured to bring that great question to trial before the grand jury of both countries and the judgment-seat of the world.

If the foreigner should pursue the subject, he will find, that *Lord North*, the "King's Attorney," was, in this trial, a timid man, betraying misgivings at every step, making it evident that he acted not from himself, but from the Throne, if not from *behind* it. On the other side, he may see that the first English settlers of Massachusetts quitted their home, and came to a wilderness to enjoy *self-government*, civil and religious, with a determination to maintain it; and that they did enjoy it, and prospered, until after *General Amherst* completed the conquest of Canada. He will also learn, that the colonies generously submitted to a pretty heavy external tax under the guise

of regulations of trade, as a contribution for protection, and in conformity to the haughty navigation act; but that they ever obstinately resisted the smallest *internal* taxation.

The distant reader may perceive, that, although Samuel Adams was the first apostle who preached Independency, yet it was a *principle* cherished by the first emigrants, and nourished in New England, from the time of the *first Charles*, till we secured it by force of arms in 1776. He will see also, that the Boston apostle of it preached, as did the first apostles of a still better cause, to a few fishermen and mechanics near the seashore, and they to others, till it spread, like the gospel, from humble persons and despised places, and shook all that could then be shaken in certain kingdoms. Since which, South America has listened to the doctrine; degenerated Greece has welcomed it; and Turkey cannot much longer keep her eyes entirely closed to its light, seeing Russia has awakened, after her long, cold night of sleep.

But let us attend to our avowed object, the valorous knight in a mask and armour of polished steel, and lay before the reader such passages from his writings, and from the reported speeches of Lord Chatham, as show their consimilitude of sentiment and even phraseology, in order to illustrate the very high probability, that both emanated from the same mind.

With this in view, we cannot do better, than quote a part of two chapters from "*JUNIUS IDENTIFIED*," a pleasant book, published without a name, a few years since, in London, in order to prove that *Sir Philip Francis* was the author of the Letters in question. The work was re-printed in America; and from it I learn, that it was written by Mr. *John Taylor*, a bookseller in London. If so, he adds one more to the number of respectable writers belonging to that class. I give his own words. "The compiler of this investigation was accidentally turning over the pages of '*Almon's Anecdotes of Lord CHATHAM*,' when his eye was caught by several passages so much in the style of JUNIUS, as to call forth this observation,

that either Lord CHATHAM was the author of the Letters, or JUNIUS had reported Lord CHATHAM's speeches."

Whether Mr. Taylor unluckily took the *left hand* road, and I the *right*, is submitted to the determination of the reader.

For myself I was struck and strongly impressed with the consimilarity long before Almon's Anecdotes of Lord CHATHAM were published, and have expressed this opinion, occasionally, during the last forty years of my life. In contemplating the subject, from time to time, and comparing one thing with another, and scanning the powers, conduct, and characters of men, during the latter part of the reign of George the Second and the first ten years of his grandson, George the Third, I became rivetted in the opinion, that Lord Chatham was the author of the Letters in question, and that no other man could be. In the citation of parallel passages the reader has only to substitute, instead of the name of Sir Philip Francis and JUNIUS, that of Lord CHATHAM and JUNIUS, and our object, in this portion of our disquisition, will be answered. On the review of the whole, the reader will see how one part coheres with the other.

Beside congeniality in political principle and moral sentiment, there is a remarkable similarity in metaphors and figures in the writings of JUNIUS and the speeches of CHATHAM. We shall mention some of them.

JUNIUS closes one of his letters with a simile, considered by some the finest in our language.—“Private credit is wealth, public honor is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.” Now, unless JUNIUS was CHATHAM, this beautiful metaphor savours of plagiary.

Lord CHATHAM said, in the House of Peers,—“My Lords, I revere the just prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally support each other. I would not touch a *feather* of the prerogative. The expression, perhaps, is too light; but since I have made use of it, let me

add, that the entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is the royal prerogative,—is the *master-feather* in the eagle's wing ; and if I were permitted to carry the allusion a little farther, I should say,—they have disarmed the imperial bird,—the '*ministerium fulminis alitem.*' The army is the thunder of the crown. The ministry have tied up the hand which should direct the bolt."—Do we not here see the *germ* in Chatham, of which the first quotation was the *flower* of JUNIUS ?

But it is not the similarity of figures so much as it is the train of thought, the consimilarity of mind, which runs through the speeches of Chatham, and pervades the Letters of JUNIUS, that has tended to convince me, that the speeches of the one and the Letters of the other flowed from the same clear intellectual fountain.

We here present our readers with a series of extracts, selected and arranged in order to prove, that the reporter of the speeches, namely, *Sir Philip Francis*, was the identical author of the Letters ; whereas we contend, that *the great orator himself was, in fact, the penman of those celebrated productions*, and we offer to our readers these parallel passages as evidence of it. They are taken from the reports of two important debates in the House of Lords ; one on the ninth of January, and the other on the twenty-second of the same month, 1770, twelve months after the first Letter of JUNIUS appeared ; and but a few weeks after the date of his famous Letter to the KING ;—in a word, in the height of the energies of the letter-writer, and during the full blaze of the eloquence of the orator.

PARALLEL PASSAGES FROM LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECHES AND
JUNIUS'S LETTERS.

Lord CHATHAM said, that "he was satisfied there was a power in some degree arbitrary, with which the constitution trusted the crown, to be made use of *under* correction of the *legislature*, and at the *hazard of the minister*, upon any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity, which might threaten the

welfare of the people or the safety of the state. That on this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he knew was *not strictly legal*; but he recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country." *

JUNIUS. "That *Parliament may review the acts of a minister* is unquestionable; but there is a wide difference between saying that the crown has a legal power, and that ministers may act at their peril. Instead of asserting that the proclamation was legal, he [Lord Camden] should have said, 'My Lords, I know the proclamation was *illegal*, but I advised it because it was *indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine, and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country.*' "

CHATHAM said, "that the situation of our affairs was undoubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy their Lordships' consideration; but that he declared with grief, there were other matters still more important, and more urgently demanding their attention. He meant the distractions and divisions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented the unhappy measure, which had divided the colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into excesses which he could not justify. He owned his natural partiality for America, and was inclined to make allowance even for these excesses. That they ought to be treated with tenderness, for in his sense, they were *ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the skin*, and were a sign, if not of a perfect, at least of a *vigorous constitution*, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart."

JUNIUS. "No man regards *an eruption upon the surface*, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching his *heart.*"

* Prohibiting the exportation of corn in a year of scarcity.

——— “I shall only say, give me a healthy, *vigorous constitution*, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my *skin*.”

CHATHAM said, “that liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished, that he loved the tree, and wished well to every branch of it; that, like the vine in scripture, it had spread from East to West, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since *they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.*”

JUNIUS. “*They [the Americans] left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert.*”

Now, the passage from JUNIUS bears the date of December 19, 1769, and the other was spoken by CHATHAM January 9, 1770. “In this instance,” says Mr. Taylor, “the speech copies the letters; but to suppose that *Chatham* and *Junius* reciprocally borrowed from each other, is to encounter a greater difficulty for the sake of avoiding a less.” True, sir; but on our hypothesis, every difficulty is removed by supposing that JUNIUS felt, thought, and wrote like *Chatham*, in spite of all his efforts at concealment.

CHATHAM said, “that it was the duty of that House to inquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the English nation, to state those causes to the sovereign, and then to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. That the privileges of the House of *Peers*, however transcendent, however appropriated to them, stood, in fact, upon the broad bottom of the PEOPLE. They were no longer in the condition of the barons, their ancestors, who had separate interests, and separate strength to support them. *The rights of the greatest and of the meanest subjects now stood upon the same foundation,—the security of law, common to all.*”

JUNIUS, two months after, makes the same declaration in different words. “However distinguished by *rank* or property, in the rights of freedom WE ARE ALL EQUAL. As we are

Englishmen, *the least considerable man* among us has an interest, *equal to the proudest NOBLEMAN*, in the laws and constitution of his country."

CHATHAM. "It was therefore, said he, their [the Peers'] highest interest, as well as their duty, to watch over and guard the people; for when the *people* had lost their rights, those of the *peerage* would soon become insignificant. To argue from experience, he begged leave to refer their Lordships to a most important passage in history, described by a man of great abilities, Dr. Robertson. This writer, in his life of Charles the Fifth (a great, ambitious, wicked man), informs us, that the *PEERS of Castile were so far cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him in overturning that part of the CORTES, which represented the PEOPLE.*"

JUNIUS says, "I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of *seven hundred* persons [Parliament], notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether *seven millions of their equals* shall be freemen or slaves."—"Without insisting upon the extravagant concessions made to Henry the Eighth, there are instances, *in the history of other countries, of a formal, deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the sovereign.*"

CHATHAM. "They [the Peers of Castile] were weak enough to adopt, and base enough to be flattered with an expectation, that, by assisting their master in this iniquitous purpose, they should increase their own strength and importance. What was the consequence? They exchanged the constitutional authority of *Peers*, for the titular vanity of *Grandeess*. They were no longer a part of the Parliament, for that they had destroyed; and when they pretended to have an opinion as *Grandeess*, Charles told them he did not understand it; and naturally enough, when they had surrendered their authority, he treated their advice with contempt. The consequence did not stop here. He made use of the *people*, whom he had enslaved, to *enslave others*, and employed the strength of the Castilians to destroy the rights of their free neighbours of Aragon."

JUNIUS expresses the result of this precious portion of Spanish history, in these few words; "We are the *slaves* of the House of Commons, and, *through them*, we are the *slaves* of the King and his ministers."

LORD CHATHAM, continuing the same subject, says, "Let this example be a lesson to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, that our rights stand on a footing different from those of the *people*. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow-subjects, however mean, however remote; for, be assured, my Lords, that, in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America, or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man, who has lost his own freedom, becomes, from that moment, an *instrument* in the hands of an ambitious prince, *to destroy the freedom of others*."

JUNIUS. "We can never be in real danger, until the forms of Parliament are made use of *to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties*; until Parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body, *to stab the constitution*." (March, 1770.)

CHATHAM. "These reflections, my Lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints; they proclaim, with one voice, the injuries they have received; they demand redress, and, depend upon it, my Lords, that, one way or other, they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity until they are redressed; nor ought they; for in my judgment, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a *single iota of the constitution*."

JUNIUS says to the King, "I confess, sir, I should be contented *to renounce the forms of the constitution ONCE MORE*, if there were no other way to obtain substantial justice."

——— “The time is come, *when the body of the English people must assert their own cause.* Conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not surrender their birth-right to Ministers, Parliaments, or Kings.”

——— “If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service, has given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, *however minute the instance may appear, to pass by without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to day is doctrine.*” (Dedication to the English nation.)

CHATHAM. “Let me entreat your Lordships, then, in the name of all the duties you owe to your sovereign, to your country, and to yourselves, to perform that office, to which you are called by the constitution, by informing his Majesty truly of the condition of his subjects, and of the real cause of their dissatisfaction. I have considered the matter with most serious attention ; and, as I have not, in my own breast, the smallest doubt, that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought, in our address, to state that matter to the King, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House, viz.

“ ‘And for these great and essential purposes, we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty’s dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of *John Wilkes, Esq.* (expelled by that House), to be elected a member to serve in this present Parliament, thereby refusing (by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only) to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.’ ”

Then rose Lord Mansfield and said, “that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the

House of Commons on the Middlesex election; nor should he now, notwithstanding any thing that might be expected from him. *That he had locked it up in his own breast, and it should die with him.*"

JUNIUS to Lord Mansfield. "As a Lord in Parliament, you were repeatedly called upon to condemn or defend the new law declared by the House of Commons. You affected to have scruples, and every expedient was attempted to remove them. The question was proposed and urged to you in a thousand different shapes. *Your prudence still supplied you with evasion*; your resolution was invincible. For my own part, I am not anxious to penetrate this solemn secret. I care not to whose wisdom it is entrusted, *nor how soon you carry it with you to your grave.*" Junius adds, in a note to this passage, "He said, in the House of Lords, that he believed he should carry his opinion with him to the grave." (November 24, 1770.)

As no report of this speech had then been published, Mr. Taylor concludes, that JUNIUS was in the House at the time it was delivered. After Lord Mansfield had finished his elaborate but evasive speech, the

Earl of CHATHAM arose and said, "My Lords, there is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life; *that in every question, in which my liberty or my property was concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense.*" Six months prior to this speech,

JUNIUS, with reference to the same subject, says, "It is a point of fact, *on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As to lawyers their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong*; and I confess I have not that opinion of their *knowledge or integrity*, to think it necessary that *they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question.*" (June 22, 1769.)

CHATHAM, referring still to Lord Mansfield's subtle speech, said, "I confess, my Lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinements of learning, because I have seen the ablest and most

learned men equally liable to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken *better care of our happiness*, and given us, *in the simplicity of common sense*, a rule for our direction, by which we shall never be misled."

JUNIUS. "This proposition is singular enough, and turns upon a refinement very distant from the *simplicity of common sense*." "Now, my Lord, [to Mansfield] without pretending to reconcile the distinctions of Westminster-hall with *the simple information of common sense*." To Mr. Printer Woodfall, he says, "The Latin word, *simplex*, conveys to me an amiable character, and never denotes folly."

CHATHAM. "My Lords, I must beg the indulgence of the House. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified, to follow that learned Lord [Mansfield] minutely through the whole of his argument. *No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I have*. I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other house, and *always listened to him with attention*. *I have not now lost a word of what he said, NOR DID I EVER*."

In this debate, Mr. Taylor remarks, that JUNIUS not only felt like Lord Chatham on this particular subject, but addressed Lord Mansfield in nearly similar terms; yet he never suspected that two characters were acted by the same person in different scenes.

JUNIUS says to the *Lord Chief Justice*. "In public affairs, my Lord, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, will not conduct a man honorably through life. Like bad money, it may be current for a time, but it will soon be cried down. It cannot consist with a liberal spirit, though it be sometimes united with *extraordinary qualifications*. *When I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am sincere*. *I feel for*

human nature, when I see a man, so gifted as you are, descend to such vile practices. Yet do not suffer your vanity to console you too soon. Believe me, my good Lord, you are not admired in the same degree in which you are detested. It is only the partiality of your friends, that balances the defects of your heart with the *superiority of your understanding.*" Again, "JUNIUS never pretends to be a better lawyer than Lord Mansfield; on the contrary, *he takes every opportunity to acknowledge the superior learning and abilities of that wicked judge.*" (Philo-Junius.)

There certainly is something very much resembling envy, if not hatred, in Lord Chatham's treatment of Lord Mansfield; else why indulge in such bitter invectives, such mortifying sarcasms, against the head officer of the English judicatory. He continued it to his last breath in the House of Peers, when, casting his eyes on Mansfield, he glanced at the Scotch rebellion. In like manner JUNIUS employs the last stroke of his pen in writing this maledictory sentence. "Considering the situation and abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that, in my judgment, *he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom.* Thus have I done my duty in endeavouring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of justice. *I have bound the victim and dragged him to the altar.*" *

* Our countryman, Copley, must have thought of these things, when he painted *apathy*, personified in the likeness of Lord Mansfield, in his famous picture of "*the death of LORD CHATHAM*,"—the only unmoved countenance in the whole group.

We cannot judge of the feelings of Lord Chatham towards that great law character; but Dr. Bisset, whose partiality to the Scotch is apparent in his history of George the Third, says, "that a reader, who should know the origin, principles, and history of the American war, without having attended to parliamentary debates and speeches, would learn with surprise, that a most strenuous abetter of coercive measures, a *determined enemy to every plan of a conciliatory spirit*, a supporter of unconditional submission, and a prophetier of speedy subjugation, was

CHATHAM. "The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact, and *I have heard with horror and astonishment that very invasion defended upon principle.* What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, *which no man may question and to which all men must submit?*"

JUNIUS. "The known laws of the land, the rights of the subject, the sanctity of charters, and the reverence due to our magistrates, must all give way, without *question or resistance, to a privilege, of which no man knows either the origin or extent.*"

CHATHAM. "My Lords [still referring to Lord Mansfield, then sitting as Lord Chancellor], I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and, when our kings were obliged to confess, that their title to the crown and the rule of their government had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right or a divine infallibility attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My Lords, I beg to be understood. No man respects the House of Commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well-being of

LORD MANSFIELD." If so, it is no wonder that the Earl of Chatham detested him, and that JUNIUS dragged him bound to the altar for *Lord Camden* to sacrifice the British *Ahitophel*.

Dr. Bisset proceeds thus; "Such powers of argument in cases of momentous import, drawing conclusions from insufficient information and erroneous principles; such profound wisdom, sanctioning the measures, decrees, and acts of misinformation, precipitancy, and violence, afford a striking instance of the weakness which, from the imperfection of human nature, is often intermingled with the most exalted qualities; it teaches the reasoner in drawing his inferences, and the counsellor in forming his schemes, not to place implicit reliance on either the authority or example of even an illustrious sage."—*History of George the Third*, Vol. II. p. 327. London edition.

the people ; beyond that line, every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal ; it threatens tyranny to the people and destruction to the state. *Power without right* is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination ; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend [Lord Lyttleton] has truly described it, *Res detestabilis et caduca*."—"I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution, of the House of Commons. It is for their own sakes that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, *lest by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess.*"

JUNIUS. "In my opinion, you grasp at the impossible, and lose the really attainable.

CHATHAM. "I affirm that *they have betrayed their constituents and violated the constitution.*"

JUNIUS. Let the people "determine by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been *arbitrarily invaded by the present House of Commons, and the constitution betrayed.*"

CHATHAM. "Under pretence of declaring the law, they have made a law, and *united in the same persons the office of legislator and judge.*"

JUNIUS says, that "Parliament presumed to make a law under pretence of declaring it," and pronounces it "a law in pretence declared, in reality made. *Legislation and jurisdiction are united in the same persons*, and exercised at the same moment ; and a court, from which there is no appeal, assumes an original jurisdiction in a criminal case."

JUNIUS continues,—"The crime, like the punishment, was in their own bosoms. *They were ex post facto legislators. They were parties ; they were judges ;* and instead of a court of final adjudication, acted as a court of criminal jurisdiction in the first instance."

CHATHAM. "The noble Lord seems fond of the word *jurisdiction*, and, I confess, with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent."—"My Lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *jus dicere*; we knew, that *legem facere* and *legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution; but now it seems we must adopt a new system of thinking. *The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction; and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that, wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to as, ipso facto, the law of the land.*"

JUNIUS. "You have hitherto maintained, that the House of Commons are *the sole judges of their own privileges*, and that *their declaration does, ipso facto, constitute the law of Parliament.*"

CHATHAM. "My Lords, *I am a plain man*, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England."

JUNIUS on the same subject. "Is this the law of Parliament, or is it not? *I am a plain man, Sir*, and cannot follow you through the phlegmatic forms of an oration." And again, referring to the same part of Lord Mansfield's speech, to which CHATHAM alludes, he adds, "Suffer me, for *I am a plain, unlettered man*, to continue the style of interrogation, which suits my capacity."

CHATHAM. "By what sophistry they [the laws of England] have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain. The principles, however, of the English laws are still sufficiently clear; they are founded in reason, and are the master-piece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble Lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the

House of Commons, when they act as judges, *have no law to direct them but their own wisdom ; that their decision is law ;* and if they determine wrong, *the subject has no appeal but to Heaven.* What then, my Lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions by which they meant to secure to themselves, and to transmit to their posterity a known law,—a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that *instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of an House of Commons ?* If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange ? *Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every shape ; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants.* But, my Lords, this is not the fact ; this is not the constitution ; we have a law of Parliament ; we have a code, in which every honest man may find it. We have MAGNA CHARTA ; we have the Statute Book, and the *Bill of Rights.*

JUNIUS. “ *The House of Commons judge of their own privileges without appeal :—*They may take offence at the most innocent action, and imprison the person who offends them during their arbitrary will and pleasure. The party has no remedy. *He cannot appeal from their jurisdiction ;* and if he question the privilege which he is supposed to have violated, it becomes an aggravation of his offence. Surely, Sir, *this doctrine is not to be found in MAGNA CHARTA.* If it be admitted without limitation, *I affirm that there is neither law nor liberty in this kingdom. We are the slaves of the House of Commons, and through them, we are the slaves of the King and his ministers.*”—“The people will grow weary of their condition, and surrender every thing into the King’s hands, rather than submit to be trampled on any longer by FIVE HUNDRED of their equals.”

—— “The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general principles of natural justice and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that

King, Lords, and Commons; have *no rule to direct their resolutions but merely their own will and pleasure*. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of Parliament. But I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of *SEVEN hundred persons*, notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether *SEVEN millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves.*"

Mr. Taylor remarks, that the first of these paragraphs could only proceed from some person who *heard* the speech, and took notes which would furnish him with this correct transcript of it *more than a year after*.

CHATHAM. "What security would they [the people] have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a court of judicature might determine every question that came before it, *not by any known positive law*, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble Lord is pleased to call '*the wisdom of the court?*'"

JUNIUS, on the same occasion, says to Lord Mansfield,—
"Instead of those *certain, positive rules*, by which the judgment of a court of law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the public so much as they ought, because the consequence and tendency of each particular instance is not observed or regarded. In the mean time the practice gains ground; the Court of King's Bench becomes a court of equity, and the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to *the wisdom of the court* and the purity of his own conscience."

CHATHAM. "With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority, yet, placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents, taken from

good and moderate times ; that they do not contradict any positive law ; that they are submitted to without reluctance by the people ; that they are unquestioned by the legislature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation) ; and, what, in my judgment, is by far the most important, that *they do not violate the spirit of the constitution*. My Lords, this is not a vague or loose expression ; we all know what the constitution is ; we all know that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man or body of men (less than the whole legislature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand. Now, my Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the House of Commons, upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in *reason* ; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a *single precedent* ; for the case of Sir Robert Walpole is but a *half precedent*, and even that half is imperfect."

JUNIUS, about *six months* BEFORE this speech, makes the same remarks on the Middlesex question. "I do not mean to admit, that the late resolution of the House of Commons is defensible on general principles of *reason*, any more than in law."—"There is no *statute* existing, by which that specific disability which we speak of is created."—"There is no *precedent*, in all the proceedings of the House of Commons, which comes entirely home to the present case."—"He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared ; but as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes *was declared not duly elected*, and the election itself vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied if they were for ever blotted out of the journals of the House of Commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given

us together. The author has *divided his precedent*, for he knew that, if taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion."

CHATHAM. "*Incapacity* was indeed declared, but his *crimes* are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his *opponent* was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established."

JUNIUS. "Now, Sir, to my understanding no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the House of Commons, by their vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. *Walpole's incapacity* arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the House annexed to them.—They respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's *incapacity*, that his *opponent* was duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor * *not duly elected*, and the election itself void.—The present House of Commons have neither *statute*, nor custom, nor *reason*, nor *one single precedent* to support them."

CHATHAM. "It contradicts *Magna Charta* and the *Bill of Rights*, by which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and that elections of members to serve in Parliament shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures, and adopted the most positive language, to express their discontent. Whether it will be questioned by the legislature, will depend upon your Lordship's resolution; but that it *violates the spirit of the constitution*, will, I think, be disputed by no man, who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of the country."

JUNIUS. "He not only betrays his master, but *violates the spirit of the English constitution*."—"How long, and to what

*The name of the member opposed to Walpole.

extent, a King of England may be protected by the forms, when he *violates the spirit of the constitution*, deserves to be considered."

CHATHAM. "Yet, if we are to believe the noble Lord, this great grievance, this manifest *violation of the first principles of the constitution*, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven."

JUNIUS. "Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and *the first principles of the constitution*."—"But when I see questions of the highest national importance carried, as they have been, and *the first principles of the constitution openly violated*, without argument or decency, I confess I give up the cause in despair."

CHATHAM. "My Lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this House. It is to your ancestors, my Lords,—it is to the English barons, that we are indebted for the laws and constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them."

JUNIUS. "Their speech is rude, but intelligible; their gestures fierce, but full of explanation. Perplexed by sophistries, their honest eloquence rises into action. The first appeal was to the integrity of their representatives; the second to the King's justice; the last argument of the people, whenever they have recourse to it, will carry more, perhaps, than persuasion to the Parliament, or supplication to the throne."

CHATHAM. "My Lords, I think that history has not done justice to their [the barons'] conduct, when they obtained from their sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in *Magna Charta*; they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, These are the rights of the great

barons, or, These are the rights of the great prelates. No, my Lords, they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *Nullus liber homo*,* and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts of freemen. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all; they deserve to be remembered; they deserve to be inculcated in our minds; they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those *iron barons*,† for so I may call them, when compared with the *silken barons* of modern days, were the guardians of the people."

JUNIUS. "When the bloody Barrington, that *silken*, fawn-ing courtier at St. James's."

After reading the preceding argumentative paragraphs, from the speeches of Lord CHATHAM and the Letters of JUNIUS, can we doubt of their flowing from the same intellectual fountain?

Lord *Chatham* speaks slightly of those who assume airs on account of their rank as noblemen, and the writer of the Letters holds them in the like estimation.

JUNIUS. "At the same time that I think it good policy to pay those compliments to Lord CHATHAM which, in truth, he has nobly deserved, I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs."

CHATHAM. "Yet their virtues [the barons'] were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution; the battlements are dismantled; the citadel is open to the first invader; the walls totter; the constitution is not tenable. What remains, then, but for us to be foremost in the breach, to repair it, or perish in it?"

* No freeman.

† Baron, from *baro*, means emphatically a man, or vir of the Latins; hence the sarcasm, *silken barons*.

“ Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the consequences of a difference between the two Houses of Parliament ; that the House of Commons will resent our daring to advise the crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the state. I am sensible of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis. At a moment such as this, we are called upon to do our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most, the representative or the collective body of the people. My Lords, *five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions* ; and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause they deserve to be slaves ! My Lords, this is not merely *the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks. I know I speak warmly* ; but this warmth shall never betray my argument nor my temper. *The kingdom is in a flame !* ”

JUNIUS. “ The *formality of a well repeated lesson* is widely distant from *the animated expression of the heart*. ” — “ Forgive this *passionate language*. I am unable to correct it. *It is the language of my heart*. ”

CHATHAM. “ As mediators between the king and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing ; and whenever his Majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to inquire more minutely into the causes of present discontents. Whenever that inquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the House to prove, that, since the first institution of the House of Commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend, the Lord Chancellor (Camden), has pledged himself to the House, that he will support that assertion. ”

[“Next to Lord Temple, the most intimate political as well as private friend of Lord Chatham was *Lord Camden*. It does not appear, that the friendship which subsisted between them was at any time interrupted. The bond of gratitude, which unites one statesman to another, is, in general, supposed to be weak. In the present instance it was strong and lasting to the end of life; for Lord Camden was one of the executors of Chatham’s last will and testament.”*]

CHATHAM. “My Lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried; I mean the House of Commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary. *For my own part*, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices nor by his public merits. *In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and the security of the best*; and God forbid, my Lords, that there should be a power in this country of *measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character*, or by any other rule but *the fixed laws of the land*.”

JUNIUS, *nine months before* this speech, advocates the cause of Wilkes on the same ground, and in language so little dissimilar, that we are constrained, says Mr. Taylor, to believe that he had a hand in the above. “*For my own part*,” says he, “I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But let *Mr. Wilkes’s character be what it may*, this is at least certain, *that circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him*. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace [Duke of Grafton] to take advantage of the *failings of a pri-*

* Thackeray.

vate character, to establish a precedent by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to ruin the best men of the kingdom." — "*But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner ; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.*"

CHATHAM. "I believe, my Lords; I shall not be suspected of any *personal* partiality to this unhappy man."

JUNIUS, in a private letter to Mr. Wilkes, in reply to one in which he complains of JUNIUS's bad opinion of him, says, "Think no more of what is passed. You did not then stand so well in my opinion ; and it was necessary to the *plan* of that Letter to rate you lower than you deserved. The wound is curable, and the scar shall be no disgrace to you."—(Private Letter, No. lxx.)

CHATHAM. "I am now suspected of coming forward, in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so ; *there is one ambition* which I ever will acknowledge, *which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors.*"

JUNIUS. "We owe it to *our ancestors* to preserve entire those *rights* which they have delivered to our care. *We owe it to our posterity* not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed."

CHATHAM. "*I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England.*"

JUNIUS. "Be assured that the laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. *This is not the cause of a faction, or of a party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain.*"

CHATHAM. "It is possible, my Lords, that the inquiry I speak of, may lead us to advise his Majesty to dissolve the

present Parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His Majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the House of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, *which heretofore abolished the House of Lords and overturned the monarchy.*"

JUNIUS. By depriving a subject of his birth-right, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; and, though perhaps not with the same motives, *have strictly followed the example of the long Parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after, with as little ceremony, dissolved the House of Lords.* The same pretended power, which robs an *English subject of his birth-right, may rob an English King of his crown.*"

CHATHAM. "I willingly acquit the present House of Commons of having actually formed so detestable a design; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and, for my own part, *I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation.* Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, that *where law ends, tyranny begins!*"

JUNIUS. "Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in English history, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is your interest, as well as your duty, to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, *who will answer for their future moderation?* Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior? Your Majesty *may learn hereafter* how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied."

"In the last two extracts, the train of thought," says Mr. Taylor, "pursued by JUNIUS, is that which Lord CHATHAM afterwards followed. Nor is it only in the line of *argument* that we may observe this similarity; the speech *verbally* resem-

bles the composition of JUNIUS. Another particular, in which the speech and the extracts remarkably agree, is in the prophetic announcement of the dangerous consequences which might ensue to the King, from maintaining and abetting the House of Commons in the exercise of an unlawful degree of power. This possible stretch of authority, it has been already observed, was assumed on a memorable occasion, when Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, in his own person, protested against it with as much energy and consistency, *as if he had spoken in the name of Lord CHATHAM*, or written under that of JUNIUS."

With this striking similarity in *words, sentiments, and composition*, the laborious compiler of "*Junius Identified*," never once thought that *Chatham* and *Junius* were two titles for the same person ! *

Here end the parallel passages of a celebrated speech of Lord CHATHAM on the ninth of January, 1770, respecting the conduct of the House of Commons in the expulsion of John Wilkes, Esq., and certain portions of the letters of JUNIUS on the same subject. They were selected by Mr. Taylor to prove, from the similarity of language and consimilitude of sentiment between the Speech and the Letters, that *Sir Philip Francis*, who was the reporter of the former, was actually the author of the Letters ; while we adduce the comparison as evidence of the Letters being the production of CHATHAM himself.

Only three weeks intervened between the date of the famous Letter of JUNIUS to KING GEORGE the THIRD, and the delivery of the foregoing speech.

* It is most earnestly to be wished, that our young gentlemen, going through a course of public education, would study ardently the abilities and character of Lord CHATHAM in his parliamentary speeches and conduct, instead of imitating the false eloquence of the Hibernian school, with which too many are enraptured and corrupted. While aiming at the height of Chatham's excellence, some might happily imitate his ever-during moral and political principles.

The consimilarity of sentiment, train of thought, and even phraseology, discernible in passages from certain speeches of *Lord Chatham*, compared with portions of JUNIUS on the same subjects, are so adapted to the support of our hypothesis, that we shall risk the patience of the reader by calling his attention, as farther evidence, to *another* speech of the English Demosthenes, delivered thirteen days after the preceding one.

On the twenty-second of January, 1770, the *Marquis of Rockingham* moved, in the House of Lords, for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation.

The object of the Marquis's speech was to show, that the then unhappy condition of affairs, and the universal discontent of the people, did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had grown upon them by degrees from *the moment of his Majesty's accession to the throne*; that the persons in whom his Majesty then confided had introduced *a total change* in the old system of English government; that they had adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of the country, viz. that *the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed*; that he could trace the operation of this principle through every act of government since the accession, in which those persons could be supposed to have any influence. He said, that the first exertion of the prerogative was *to make a peace contrary to the wishes of the nation, and on terms totally disproportioned to the successes of the war*; but as they felt themselves unequal to the conduct of the war, they thought a peace, on any conditions, necessary for their own security and permanence in administration. He then took notice of certain odious, tyrannical acts of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained, and mentioned the general sweep through every branch and department of administration; the removals not merely confined to the higher employments, but carried down to the lowest offices of the state; to men who had subsisted with their families on salaries from fifty to two

hundred pounds a year, turned out to misery and ruin, to create a new set of voters and parasites.

The *Duke of Grafton* spoke next after the *Marquis* upon a number of little things in his desultory and confused manner, and *Lord Chatham* concurred with the motion, and then spoke of that condition of things which, he said, was corrupting the very foundation of their political existence, and preying upon the vitals of the state.

CHATHAM said, "If the King's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms of the constitution, it must be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should *surrender their birth-right to a despotic minister*, he hoped, old as he was, to see the question *brought to issue*, and fairly tried between *the people and the government*."

JUNIUS, on the same topic, has the same expression. "The time is come, when the body of the English people must assert their own cause. Conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they *will not surrender their birth-right to ministers, parliaments, or kings*."—"Every measure of government opens an ample field for a parliamentary inquisition. *If this resource should fail us, our next and latest appeal must be made to Heaven*."

CHATHAM. "My Lords, this is not the language of faction; let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone we can distinguish what is factious from what is not,—by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in those principles, and know, that, when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I should follow the example set us by the most reverend bench, with whom I believe it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, to appeal at once to the *Holy Bible*. The constitution has its *political bible*, by which, if it be fairly consulted, every political question may and ought to be determined. *MAGNA CHARTA, the Petition of Rights, and*

the Bill of Rights form that code which I call the BIBLE of the English constitution.

JUNIUS has the same singular cast of thought. "The civil constitution, too, that legal liberty, that general *creed* which every Englishman professes, may still be supported, though Wilkes, and Horne, and Townshend, and Sawbridge should obstinately refuse to *communicate*; and even if the *Fathers of the Church*, if Savile, Richmond, Camden, Rockingham, and Chatham,* should disagree in the ceremonies of their *political worship*, and even in the *interpretation of twenty texts in MAGNA CHARTA.*"

CHATHAM. "Had some of his Majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the *comments* of their ministers, had they been better read in the *text* itself, the *glorious* revolution would have remained only possible in theory, and would not now have existed upon record, a formidable example to their successors."

JUNIUS calls the decapitation of Charles the First a "*glorious* act of substantial justice," and glances at it repeatedly, even in his Letter to the King.

CHATHAM. "I cannot agree with the noble Duke, that nothing less than an immediate attack upon the honor or interest of this nation can authorize us to interpose in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprises of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish policy has prevailed in our councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers less able than we are to make resistance, we have permitted them to increase their strength, we have lost the most favorable opportunities of opposing them with success, and found ourselves, at last, *obliged to run every hazard in making that cause our own*, in which we were not wise enough to take

* Sir Philip Francis almost worshipped the Earl of Chatham. Had he been *Junius*, would he have placed his *idol* last of the *Fathers*, when in truth he was the first?

part, while the *expense and danger might have been supported by others*. With respect to *Corsica*, I shall only say, that France has obtained a more useful and *important acquisition in one pacific* campaign, than in any of her *belligerent* campaigns; at least while I had the honor of administering the war against her."

JUNIUS. "If, instead of disowning Lord Shelburne [Secretary of State, who gave instructions to Lord Rochford, then English minister at Paris], the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know that *Corsica* would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the first instance, rather than hazard a rupture with this country; but being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonor. Common sense foresees consequences, which have escaped your Grace's penetration.* Either we suffer the French to make an *acquisition*, the *importance* of which you have probably no conception of; or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indirect assistance, a transition to some more open, decisive measures becomes unavoidable; till at last we find ourselves *principals in the war*, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might have originally been obtained without *expense or danger*."

Here the *words, sentiments, and train of thought* exactly accord with *Lord Chatham*, although JUNIUS anticipated his Lordship by several months. Now, if *our hypothesis* do not absolutely blind us, nay, stupefy us, what we have here transcribed approaches to demonstration. As it regards the industrious compiler, Mr. Taylor, it shows how near men some-

* Letter to the Duke of Grafton, May 30, 1769. Lord Rochford was a character, next after Lord Camden, of whom JUNIUS speaks with unmingled praise.

times come to a discovery, and yet miss it. It has been so with some of the most useful inventions. Shall I, at this late period of my life, add to the number of the hypothetically blind?

CHATHAM. "My Lords, the condition of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your Lordships' inquiry. I am not sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so fully as I could wish; but by what appears to the public, and from my own observation, I confess I cannot give the ministry much credit for the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see that even where their measures were well chosen, they are incapable of carrying them through, without some unhappy mixture of weakness or imprudence. *They are incapable of doing entirely right.*"

JUNIUS to the Duke of Grafton. "There is something in both [your character and conduct], which distinguishes you, not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, *but that you should never do right by mistake.*"

CHATHAM. "I do from my conscience, and from the best weighed principles of my understanding, applaud the augmentation of the army," &c. &c.

We have inserted this striking consimilitude in page 263, and therefore omit it here, but annex what was said upon it by

JUNIUS. "The ministry, it seems, are laboring to draw a line of distinction between the *honor of the crown* and the *rights of the people*. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse; for, in effect, both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. *The King's honor is that of the people. Their real honor and interest are the same.* I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the

foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. *Private credit is wealth; public honor is security. The feather, that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.*"

We have said already, in page 264, that we find, in Lord CHATHAM's speech of the ninth of January, 1770, the germ of this beautiful flower of JUNIUS. We agree in sentiment with Mr. Taylor on the striking consimilarity of the two splendid passages; at the same time we wonder, that the writer, who saw and felt, again and again, the congeniality, never once raised his eyes from *the reporter*,—*the stenographer*, up to the spiritual original! Such purely *ex corde* sentiments, fixed opinions, and fine rhetorical figures, must be a rivulet *from the same clear intellectual fountain*, and by no means the mere incidental clothing of a reporter, however able.

CHATHAM. [The following is a weighty paragraph,—a rich portion of the history of England, in the early part of the reign of George the Third.] "My Lords, I am not unpractised in business, and if, with all that apparent diligence and all that assistance which the noble Duke speaks of, the accounts in question have not yet been made up, I am convinced there must be a defect in some of the public offices, which ought to be strictly inquired into and severely punished. But, my Lords, the waste of the public money is not of itself so important, as the pernicious purpose to which we have reason to suspect that money has been applied.

"For some years past, there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labor and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connexions, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private, hereditary fortune could resist. My Lords, not saying but what is within

the knowledge of us all, the corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprise of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigor of the constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided ; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some *barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution*, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption."

JUNIUS. "I am concerned to see that the great condition which ought to be the *sine quâ non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every *barrier raised in defence of the constitution*,—I mean a declaration upon oath to shorten the duration of Parliaments, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the Society." *

CHATHAM. "I doubt not we all agree that something must be done. I shall offer my thoughts, such as they are, to the consideration of the House ; and I wish that every noble Lord, who hears me, would be as ready as I am to contribute his opinion to this important service. I will not call my own sentiments crude and indigested ; it would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your Lordships which I had not well considered ; and this subject, I own, has long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your Lordships without reserve.

"Whoever understands *the theory of the English constitution*, and will compare it with *the fact*, must see at once how *widely they differ*."

JUNIUS. "Certainly *nothing can be less reconcilable to the theory*, than *the present practice of the constitution*."

CHATHAM proceeds. "We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country ; we must

* Society for the support of the Bill of Rights.

reduce our political *practice* as nearly as possible to our principles. The constitution intended, that there should be a permanent relation between the *constituent* and *representative* body of the people. Will any man affirm, that, as the House of Commons is now formed, *that relation* is in any degree preserved? My Lords, it is not preserved, it is destroyed. *Let us be cautious, however, how we have recourse to violent expedients."*

JUNIUS. "That the people are not equally and fully represented is unquestionable. *But let us take care what we attempt."*

CHATHAM. "The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the *rotten parts* of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and, without entering into any invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But, in my judgment, my Lords, these *boroughs*, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. *The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death."*

JUNIUS. "As to *cutting away the rotten boroughs*, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet, I own, I have both doubts and apprehensions in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so *extensive an amputation."*

"When all your instruments of *amputation* are prepared; when the unhappy victim lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? When you propose to cut away the *rotten parts*, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop,—at what point the mortification ends?"

[In a private letter to John Wilkes, Esq.]

CHATHAM. "Let us try, my Lords, whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, *let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution, as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases.*"

JUNIUS. "Besides that I approve highly of Lord CHATHAM's idea of *infusing a portion of new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities*, (a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom) other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it."

CHATHAM. "The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greatest cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns, which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health, which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more, in addition to their present representation. *The Knights of the shires* approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil."

JUNIUS. "*Lord CHATHAM's project, for instance, of increasing the number of Knights of shires appears to me admirable.*"

CHATHAM. "It is not the little dependent boroughs; it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigor of the constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown.

"I think I have weighed every possible objection that can be raised against a plan of this nature; and I confess I see but one, which, to me, carries any appearances of solidity. It may be said, perhaps, that when the act passed for uniting the two kingdoms (England and Scotland), the number of persons who were to represent the whole nation in Parliament was proportioned and fixed on for ever; that this limitation is a fundamental *article*, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the union.

“My Lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act, than I have. I revere the memory of that great Prince who first formed the plan, and those illustrious patriots who carried it into execution. As a contract, *every article should be inviolable*; as the common basis of the strength and happiness of two nations, *every article of it should be sacred*.”

JUNIUS. “*I am far from impeaching the articles of the union.*”

CHATHAM. “I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties at the expense of the other. No, my Lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned at the union; and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege.”—“My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord [*Marquis of Rockingham*], I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship’s motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us,—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my Lords, when those, who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end.

“The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble Lord and his friends are now united

with me and mine, upon a principle which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess or divide the emoluments of government ; but, if possible, to save the state. Upon this ground we met,—upon this ground we stand firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *Divide et impera*, at defiance.”

The parallel passages, which we have adduced, were selected by a judicious writer, who searched them out for a purpose different from our own : *his* was to prove that the *reporter* of Chatham's speeches was in fact JUNIUS, as he perceived they contained not only his sentiments on several important topics, but partook of his peculiar style and turn of thought ; whereas *we* have recourse to them to show, that, instead of a mere reporter or stenographer, the great orator himself was actually the audacious writer of the famous Letters, and that they and the equally famous Speeches flowed from one and the same intellect. In holding this parallelism up to view, we trust that we have neither magnified trifles, nor traced similitudes where no likeness exists. We moreover hope, that the attentive reader will re-peruse these abstracts, for the richness of the matter and the corresponding weight of the diction. They are pure gold ; while our adaptation may be considered only as the soldering. They are valuable on another account ; they are extracted from portions of two speeches, mighty in their personal and political consequences. They confused still more a weak and discordant ministry, and greatly enraged a self-willed monarch, who, in a fit of resentment, took the great seals from the *Lord Chancellor CAMDEN*, on a suspicion that he divulged certain secrets of the privy council to his friend, Lord Chatham, who had spoken thus freely of the executive measures.

After the second of these speeches was delivered, several resignations followed, and among them that of the vacillating

and timorous Duke of Grafton ; and very many refused to accept of places under the crown ; not a man of consequence would deign to take the place of Prime Minister, or Lord High Chancellor. At length the King sent for *Mr. Charles Yorke*, second son of the Earl of Hardwicke, who had held the offices of Solicitor and Attorney-General to great satisfaction, and whose elevation to the chancellorship had been long anticipated as a very desirable event. He waited on his sovereign with the fixed resolution of not accepting that station. Some courtly writers say, that he reluctantly accepted the seals by the express *command* of his Majesty ; but we uncourtly Americans, who dare "speak truth and shame the d——," say, it was by dint of wheedling, earnest intreaty, and even the tears of a *King*, remarkably dexterous in the *choice of means* to obtain his object, that this honor was *inflicted* upon the unhappy man, who was ashamed to meet his friends after being thus immediately operated upon, so that while the patent of his peerage (that of Baron Morden) was preparing, he destroyed his own life.* The great seals were then offered to *Sir Eardly Wilmot*, who refused them, and to *Lord Mansfield*, who declined them. In this perplexed condition of the monarch's affairs, the Earl of Mansfield was made Speaker of the House of Lords *pro tem*. At the same time the *Marquis of Granby* resigned all his appointments, except the regiment of blues ; the *Duke of Beaufort*, his post of master of horse to the Queen ; the *Duke of Manchester* and the *Earl of Coventry*, those of Lords of the Bedchamber ; the *Earl of Huntingdon*, his place of Groom of the Stole ; *Mr. Dunning*, that of Solicitor-General ; and *James Grenville*, that of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. All seemed at a stand. Yet, in the midst of this singular perplexity, George the Third maintained a *surprising* firmness, or a quality somewhat resembling it. At length, to the astonishment of the remnants of a deserted court, *Frederick Lord North*, a name very famous even in these ends of the earth, was mentioned as a suitable man to

* JUNIUS speaks of this with horror.

administer the government of the almost abandoned King. Open-mouthed incredulity stared with astonishment, while such characters as Charles Townshend, John Wilkes, and Lord Sandwich laughed outright; and these expressions of the soul were not lessened on learning that North's promotion was chiefly owing to the influence of the *Princess Dowager of Wales* upon her son. This great lady condescended to persuade the *Gilford* family to encourage the too diffident Lord North to take the helm, notwithstanding the crazy condition of the ship and the squally state of the atmosphere; and she relaxed not her efforts till she fixed him there. She knew the importance of a good moral character with her son and with the nation. She saw its resistless power, when united to great abilities in a Chatham, a Camden, and a few other noblemen, and could not but acknowledge the ruinous effects of the lack of it in men and women endowed with great talents, rendered brilliant by high station. Earl Waldegrave's resentment must have induced him to underrate the talents of the King's mother. Her sagacity in this and some other instances sufficiently evinces her superior powers of discrimination. She knew the *sort* of man who would best suit her son in carrying on his designs against America, and who would listen to and follow the advice of Lord Mansfield and of Lord Bute's private secretary, *Charles Jenkinson*, the confidential and official adviser of the Queen.*

Lord North was what some people affect to despise, "*a good sort of a man*," very amiable, frank, honest, and replete with good-natured wit, with an assenting conversation, and without a personal enemy; to which we may add a diffidence of his own abilities and fitness for the high station which was offered him.† He hesitated, and asked the advice of every one,

* *Lord Liverpool* was, at that time, Solicitor-General to her Majesty.

† Good personal appearance goes a great way in favor of a public character, as in a Lord Chatham and a Mansfield in England, and Washington in America. On this head Lord North was not felicitous. Since the days of *Æsop*, hardly a great man can be named of a more

without daring to follow that of any, until he was fixed by the stronger mind of the Germanic Minerva. The choice did credit to her penetration ; for George Grenville had too many scruples of conscience ; the flourishing, versatile, Charles Townshend was too flashy to lead, direct, or drive any great

ungainly figure. The staid and solemn Junius, in his thirty-ninth Letter, speaks of him, ironically, as a minister who had a voice to persuade, an eye to penetrate, and a gesture to command ; and lest posterity should mistake his words, he adds, in a note, "This graceful minister is oddly constructed. His tongue is a little too big for his mouth, and his eyes a great deal too big for their sockets. Every part of his person sets natural proportion at defiance. At this present writing (April, 1770) his head is supposed to be much too heavy for his shoulders." It would puzzle, however, the executioner to decapitate him ; he would not know where his body ended, or head began. Mr. West, historical painter to his Majesty, once remarked to the author, that Lord North looked more like a toad than any human being he ever saw. The brilliant Charles Townshend, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, pointing to Lord North, "See that great, heavy, booby-looking, bursten-bellied, seeming changeling. You may believe me, when I assure you it is a *fact*, that, if any thing should happen to me [he died not long after], he will succeed to my place, and very shortly after come to be First Commissioner of the Treasury."—[*Public Characters of the most eminent Personages in the Parliament of Great Britain, considered as Statesmen, Senators, and Public Speakers.* London. 1777. p. 139.] Yet this was the man, whom the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose judgment of the faculties of men was never doubted, forced in a manner upon the King for his Prime Minister ; a man as unlike Lords Sandwich, Holland, Bute, or Charles Townshend, as can well be conceived.

Experience has long since taught me to discard the nonsense of phrenology and the quackery of Lavaterism, as the most absurd and unbenevolent system with which human nature has been insulted. When I see external deformity, void of disease, I look out, almost instinctively, for compensation in the mind. I am satisfied of the folly of judging of the powers and bias of the *soul* by its *case*. How many handsome fops and villains has society been pestered with, from *Ab-salom* to *Lovelace* ? Has the adorable Creator made some men villains, and then punished them for acting according to his material construction of them ?—No opportunity should be omitted "to justify the ways of God to man."

portion of the nation, whether at home or abroad ; and the whiffling Duke of Grafton too much of a weathercock. Lord North was the very man to administer the miserable, half-way measures of George the Third towards the Americans, who laughed at them both. His Lordship was contented to be, at times, the minister of the interior, irresponsible cabinet, without being contemptible ; and such was his easy disposition, that, in the most perturbed seasons,—in times that tried men's souls,—his Lordship would sleep and snore in the House of Commons amidst the thunders of the opposition ; hence he was compared to a top ;—the more whipped, the sounder it sleeps. To judge of his character for pliability, we have only to reflect on his *coalition* with Charles Fox, who had made him for years the object of his keenest invective and the butt of his most pointed ridicule. Nevertheless, Lord North had talents, *character*, good intentions, fairness of mind, and manners that secured him the good will of every one ; hence it happened that he was among the most permanent ministers the crown ever employed ; for as nobody envied him, so no one took pains to undermine and remove him. He waddled through the American revolutionary war with *Lord George* (Sackville) *Germaine* for Secretary, *Howe*, *Burgoyne*, and *Clinton*, for his Generals, in a congeniality with the whole group, that has no parallel in history ; and as he never much excited our resentment, so we never felt towards him a grudge like that towards *Lord Hillsborough* and the King's sword-bearer, the successful rival of Sir Jeffrey Amherst.*

At that eventful period to which we have alluded, JUNIUS appeared greatly interested in the parliamentary debates. It was at an eve, says Mr. Heron, of an occasion upon which the *whigs* hoped, at last, to force themselves in a body into administration on their own terms. The Grenvilles, the Marquis of Rockingham, with their respective adherents, were now united. The Letter of JUNIUS to the KING had just excited

* Lord Boutetourt, Governor of Virginia.

universal attention. The bold remonstrance of the City of London increased the ferment. It appears by the private letters of JUNIUS to Wilkes and to Woodfall, that he was roused to the utmost solicitude to effect a change of ministers. He requests the latter to give notice of the contemplated *co-operation*, or what, on such occasions, used to be called in Boston "*the long pull, the strong pull, and the pull altogether*;" and that by the extraordinary method of "dispersing hand-bills;" and added to his request, "Pray do whatever you think will answer this purpose best, for *now is the crisis*." At this period, Mr. Taylor remarks, that JUNIUS and Lord CHATHAM still fought under the same banner; and JUNIUS, on hearing that his Lordship intended to support the Westminster remonstrance by going to the Hall, writes to his printer in the flush of hope, "I have no doubt that *we shall conquer them at last*;" and, alluding to CHATHAM's speeches in Parliament at the same time, he says, in a private letter to Wilkes, "*CHATHAM has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched. From that moment I BEGAN TO LIKE HIM.*" [!]*

While JUNIUS was calling on the people, and on the powers above them through the press, Lord CHATHAM was pouring forth his torrents of eloquence in Parliament on the same subjects, in the strains which we have recorded in the form of parallel passages in the preceding chapter. Mr. Taylor remarks, that, in the commencement of the first speech, viz. on the ninth of January, the sentiments and expressions of JUNIUS, for the space of ten lines, were borrowed from what *now* appears to have been Lord CHATHAM's speech, and this without any acknowledgment, though the Letter was written nearly *two years AFTER the speech was made*. The words are not exactly the same, but they are as near as the notes, from which they are supposed to be taken, would render necessary; as near as any man, writing at two distant periods, from the same notes, would be likely to make them; they con-

* The female partridge could not have practised a better lure.

vey the *same thoughts*, in the *same order*, with the fidelity of a *literal translation*. "Now, in what way," says Mr. Taylor, "is this to be accounted for? There is no report printed from which the passage could have been quoted, nor would the plagiary have passed without observation if the original had been known. The inference is unavoidable, that he, who wrote the Letters, was likewise the *Reporter* of the Speech." [!] After what we have said, repeated, and reiterated, we need not add *our* inference.

The indefatigable compiler of the adduced passages, remarks upon them thus :—"Many other passages from the same speech lead to the conclusion, that JUNIUS had it in his memory when he wrote at a subsequent period. But let us proceed to the *second* debate, and see whether in that also the *internal evidence* is such as we have met with in the former. In the first place JUNIUS seems to have borrowed from this speech those remarkable metaphors, the political *Bible*, and *the feather that adorns the royal bird*, &c. To have taken them he must have heard the debate, for *they are not elsewhere in print*. Secondly, in a private Letter to Wilkes, he speaks of *cutting away the rotten boroughs*, in the figurative language of the speech, and with the same doubts as to the policy of the act. Thirdly, he not only alludes to the proposal of Lord CHATHAM to increase the Knights of shires, but he quotes a passage from the speech before us, in so very nearly the same words, that we know not how to account for it, unless by the supposition, that he was *himself* the reporter. Under that idea the coincidence explains itself; though, when it is considered that *notes* only were taken of the speech, it may appear surprising, that the two passages, when fully expressed, should bear so close a resemblance to each other. But it is probable, that the speech, though not published till *twenty years after*, was composed while the original was fresh in the writer's memory, which has caused it to be so intermingled with the thoughts and expressions of JUNIUS; for, if viewed as the production of *another* mind, it is equally unaccountable how much the

speech in return owes to the Letters." [Yet this unaccountableness did not open his eyes so wide as to see the truth.] "Lord CHATHAM borrows an illustration from the latter with the same freedom that JUNIUS quotes his Lordship; and there is an equal departure from literal precision in both cases,—a proof that *the thoughts at first all emanated from the same mind*, and were the property of *one* writer, whatever names he might assume." Then Mr. Taylor selects some particular phrases, used by CHATHAM, JUNIUS, and Sir Philip FRANCIS. Indeed he fills a chapter of twenty pages with them, and makes the same application to his favorite supposition.*

Duly reflecting on the labors of this industrious gentleman, our feelings towards him are similar to what we should experience on seeing a man very deeply interested in making a quick journey from Boston to Worcester, taking the road to Lancaster; which brings to mind one of the many excellent sayings of *Lord Bacon*, viz. "A lame man in the *right* road will beat a racer in the wrong." We have yet another feeling towards this writer, lest, after our free use of his parallels, he should say with VIRGIL, in his beautiful epigram,

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores;

and

Sic vos non vobis nificatis, aves;

Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes.

But so it is in all improvements, where one man stands upon the shoulders of another.

* "JUNIUS occasionally intersperses, throughout his Letters, *maxims, phrases and figures*, thrown out by Lord CHATHAM *vivâ voce*."—Taylor.

CHAPTER XI.

NOTICES OF LORD CAMDEN, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE MANSFIELD,
LORD HOLLAND, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, THE DUKE OF
GRAFTON, AND LORD AMHERST, IN REFERENCE TO JUNIUS.

OUR task would be incomplete, nor less so our satisfaction, if we omitted to notice certain characters placed in the temple of fame by JUNIUS, standing like so many statues and busts on pedestals,—others only in bold *relievo*, and some in *fresco* or everlasting plaster, by a first-rate artist. JUNIUS gives unqualified praise to two characters alone,—Lords *Camden* and *Rockford*. Of the latter we know only, that he was a very respectable twig of an honorable branch of a venerable trunk of nobility, and was honored with the good opinion of the fastidious JUNIUS. We “no further seek his merits to disclose.” We had as lief dig in the mud as hunt out British pedigrees and peerages, in which perplexing process we Americans are liable to ridiculous mistakes, gaining no credit if accurate, and losing much if otherwise. The Briton delights in such researches, while we colonists never troubled ourselves with inquiries of this sort; for, if we did, in some portions of the United States we should be brought up by a convict, and in another by a Puritan with his astringent countenance. The old world generally, the Britons particularly, are in the habit of looking back, not only to the preterperfect, but to the preterpluperfect tense; whereas our views are all in the *future*, to the glory of those whose native language is the English. Let us first speak of

LORD CAMDEN.

The distinguished figure, which Charles Pratt, *Lord CAMDEN*, made during William Pitt’s career of renown, and even

since that splendid period of English history, and the noble picture of him by the masterly hand of JUNIUS, mark him out an object of particular attention. Besides, *Camden* is a name dear to us Americans ; second to none but that of Pitt, alias Chatham.

When this last named great statesman was forming his ever memorable administration in July, *seventeen hundred and fifty-seven*, he desired that *Mr. Pratt*, then a favorite pleader at the bar of the House of Commons, should be made Attorney-General, in the room of Sir Robert Henley promoted. As *Mr. Pratt* was a highly valued friend of Pitt before and after he became *Lord CHATHAM*, enjoying his confidence till his death, and was, after it, one of his executors, we cannot, consistently with our purpose (which is the connecting of the most interesting portion of British history with that of America), pass him by in a hurry, more especially as he was a distinguished favorite of JUNIUS, as well as the dear friend of *Lord Chatham*.

He was the son of Sir John Pratt, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, educated at Eton school, and was six years younger than his friend Pitt. He was a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, as early as 1731. We are told, that his professional practice was, for many years, but narrow ; yet in 1752 we find him supporting *the rights of Juries* in opposition to *William Murray*, Esq. afterwards the celebrated *Lord MANSFIELD*, in a libel-case, in which *Mr. Pratt's* client was acquitted. From that period, his path gradually widened before him, so that, in 1761, he was constituted Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and, at the same time, honored with knighthood. "Though he presided with dignity, weight, and impartiality, he was yet more distinguished by the boldness and independence of his decisions." When the famous champion of the people's rights, *John Wilkes*, was arrested and committed to the tower, Sir Charles Pratt granted him a writ of *habeas corpus* ; and when he was brought before the court, he discharged him from confinement. May it be ever remembered that, in the cause of the *rights of the*

people, the right honorable William Pitt and Sir Charles Pratt marched to fame under the same banner. In the year 1765 he was created a Peer, by the title of *Earl CAMDEN*, and, in 1766, was appointed Lord High Chancellor. Soon afterward he was suddenly dismissed by his Sovereign, on suspicion that he communicated some of the secrets of the privy-council to his friend, Lord CHATHAM, who glanced at them in the famous speech in the House of Lords already quoted ; which occasioned the alarming resignations of that period. It is universally known in this country, that Lord Camden was a warm, steady, and consistent advocate of the great American *cause*, in which he was cordially joined by Chatham and Rockingham in the House of Lords, and Barré and Burke in the House of Commons.

Earl CAMDEN's life was protracted till April, 1794.

We are enabled to give a nearer view of Lord Chatham and of Lord Camden than heretofore, from aid afforded us by our venerated countryman, *Doctor FRANKLIN*, who was noticed in a particular and friendly manner by both of them.

Lord Chatham expressed to Dr. Franklin, on his second visit to that nobleman, his high opinion of the *American Congress*, commending their temper, moderation, and wisdom. He inquired much and particularly concerning the state and condition of the country ; the probability of their perseverance ; the difficulties they must meet with in adhering, for a long time, to their resolutions ; the resources they might have to supply the deficiency of commerce. His Lordship expressed great regard and warm affection for America, with hearty wishes for her prosperity, and that government might soon come to see its mistakes and rectify them ; and intimated, that, possibly he might, if his health permitted, prepare something for its consideration, when the Parliament should meet after the holydays ; on which he wished to have Franklin's sentiments. "I mentioned to him," said the Doctor, "the very hazardous state I conceived we were in, by the continuance of the army in Boston ; that, whatever disposition there might be

in the inhabitants to give no just cause of offence to the troops, or in the General [GAGE] to preserve order among them, an unpremeditated, unforeseen quarrel might happen between perhaps a drunken porter and a soldier, that might bring on a riot, tumult, and bloodshed, and in its consequences produce a breach impossible to be healed; that the army could not possibly answer any good purpose there, and might be infinitely mischievous; that no accommodation could properly be proposed and entered into by the Americans while the bayonet was at their breasts; that, to have any agreement binding, all force should be withdrawn."

"From *Lord CHATHAM's*, I went," says the Doctor, "to wait upon *Lord CAMDEN*. I met his Lordship and family in two carriages, just without his gate, going on a visit of congratulation to Lord and Lady Chatham on the recent marriage of their daughter. They were to be back at dinner; so I agreed to go in, stay to dinner, and spend the evening there, and not return to town till next morning. We had that afternoon and evening a great deal of conversation on our American affairs, concerning which *Lord CAMDEN* was very inquisitive; and I gave him the best information in my power. I was charmed with his generous and noble sentiments, and had the great pleasure of hearing his full approbation of the *CONGRESS* and their *petition*, of which, at his request, I afterwards sent him a copy. He seemed anxious, that the Americans should continue to act with the same temper, coolness, and wisdom, with which they had hitherto proceeded in most of their public assemblies; in which case he did not doubt they would succeed in establishing their rights, and obtain a solid and durable agreement with the mother country; of the necessity and great importance of which agreement, he seemed to have the strongest impression." *

It is here manifest, that neither Lord Camden, nor Lord Chatham, nor indeed Franklin *himself* contemplated an entire

* Franklin's Memoirs, published by his grandson.

separation of the two countries. Not many days after these conversations, Dr. Franklin received a card from Lord Stanhope,* expressing Lord Chatham's wish, that he would be present in the House of Lords, when he intended to make a motion relative to the speedy removal of the troops from Boston.

Dr. Franklin gives an animated account of Chatham's speech on that occasion. It was then his Lordship declared, of our first Congress, in the British House of Peers, that, "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia; and that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men must be vain and fatal; and that if ministers persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, that if they did not alienate the affections of his subjects, he would affirm, that, *the American jewel* out of it, they would make the *Crown* not worth his wearing."

After Lord Chatham had denied the right of Parliament to tax the Americans without their consent, he was followed by his friend.

Lord CAMDEN, in a speech never, perhaps, surpassed, for learning, perspicuity, and solid argument, said, "My Lords, I have searched the matter, and I declare, not only as a statesman, a politician, and a philosopher, but as a common lawyer, *YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO TAX AMERICA.*" And he stated some cases where it was lawful to resist Parliament. In this united effort at conciliation with America, Lords CHATHAM and CAMDEN strove together with the utmost patriotic zeal; well knowing the consequences to *English LIBERTY*, if the spirit of it should be extinguished in this country.

"On Friday the twenty-seventh of January, 1775," continues Dr. Franklin, "I waited again on *Lord CHATHAM*,

* Lord Stanhope was an able, honest, philosophical, and patriotic man, but eccentric. If he was, in external appearance, below, he was, in mind and philanthropic views, above his titular rank.

when he acquainted me, in a long conversation, with the outlines of his plan of conciliation, parts of which he read to me; and he said, that he had communicated it only to *Lord CAMDEN*, whose advice he much relied on, particularly in the law part."

Let it be remembered, that, less than thirty years ago, *Lord ELDON* declared, in the House of Lords, that "the author of *JUNIUS*, if not himself a lawyer, must certainly have written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers." It was believed by some in the higher circles, that *Lord Camden* and *Lord Temple* knew the author of *JUNIUS*.*

We have given this narrative and adduced these facts to show, that there was not only a personal regard, like that between William Pitt and Henry Fox, of Eton-school origin, but that a *confidential one* existed between the former and Lord Camden, while no such confidential attachment ever bound together Lord Chatham and Lord Holland; their political walks, private occupations, and religious opinions were widely different. The attachment between Chatham and Camden was not a mere contact of generous feelings, but an amalgamation, and of that sort which never suffered separation during their renowned lives, and hardly after it.

"Oh happy friends! for if my pen could give
Immortal life, your fame should ever live,
Fixed as the Capitol's foundation lies,
And spread where'er our conquering *Eagle* flies." †

* "I know enough of *JUNIUS* to know, that he was of Lord Temple's school, and that he wrote that paper *from hints* or materials prompted by him. So far he was betrayed in one of the Letters to Lord Camden; for in that Letter he touched upon a fact known only to three persons, Lord CHATHAM, Lord Camden, and Lord Temple."—(See E. H. Barker's Letters on *Junius*, p. 142.)

† "Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo:
Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit."

VIRG. ÆN. IX.

The above is Dryden's translation of the passage.

Having shown how Lord Camden and Lord Chatham stood affected towards each other, let us see how JUNIUS, the man behind the curtain, stood affected towards the conspicuous Lord CAMDEN.

I think I have explained away the severe reflection, or rather equivocal accusation against Lord Camden in the first Letter of JUNIUS, insinuating that Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden divided, in effect, one half of the empire from the other, merely to destroy George Grenville as a Prime Minister ; a most artful *lure*, sported by the man in a mask to elude the pursuit of curiosity and vengeance.

Lord CAMDEN's friends endured a little mortification when JUNIUS attributed to him an *illegal* doctrine respecting the suspension of an act of the legislature by the Crown, in the recess of Parliament, on the plea of great necessity in a scarcity of corn, occasioned by an inclement season. For so ascendant was the spirit of this invisible being upon public opinion, that his approbation or disapprobation was felt from the highest to the lowest, from the throne to the play-house. The case was this.

There was a failure in "*corn*,"* and a scarcity all over Europe. A royal proclamation was issued, forbidding any further exportation, and thus the laws were made, in this instance, to give way to the mandates of the King and Council ; and this arbitrary measure was advocated by Lord Chancellor CAMDEN. The *Tories* instantly turned *Whigs* and patriots, and condemned the deed as an attack on the constitution, more dangerous than the case of ship-money in the reign of Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second. They called it the "*forty days' tyranny*." Lord Camden vindicated the measure on the ground of *state necessity*, instead of saying, as Chatham once did, "I am aware that it

* In England they call *corn* what we in America call by the general name of *grain* ; restricting the former term to *maize*. Thus we say,—The crop of wheat is good, but the *corn* is bad : It is a good year for barley and rye, but bad for *corn*.

is a step against law, but I am driven to it to obviate the great calamity of famine, and therefore I throw myself on the mercy of my country." In this single instance, Lord *Chatham* was opposed in opinion to Lord *Camden*; and so was the steady and consistent JUNIUS; yet while they disagreed from the great law Lord, they both spoke of him apologetically, well knowing the sterling integrity of the man. But the "*King's Friends*,"—high prerogative men,—*Tories*, or by whatever name you choose to designate those in Parliament who stood opposed to the principles of Chatham, Camden, and Junius,—these made a great outcry, indeed, in hopes of making a *breach* between *Camden* and *Chatham*. They had felt and dreaded their union and co-operation, and in this case they acted upon the devil's motto,—"*Divide and conquer*." But CHATHAM and JUNIUS, knowing their hearts, soon dissipated all their hopes on that head. It is worthy of notice, that, on this question, Lord Mansfield spoke *against* the power of the Crown, and, for the first time, stood up for the constitution; but, good as his ground was, he was afraid to tread upon it.

JUNIUS stiffly maintained his assertion in opposition to the declaration of Lord *Camden*; but instead of pouring forth a torrent of invective and ridicule, as was too often the case with him, he says, in a style of unusual respect, "With regard to Lord CAMDEN, the truth is, that he inadvertently overshot himself, as appears plainly by that unguarded mention of 'a tyranny of forty days,' which I myself heard." JUNIUS commences his Sixtieth Letter, under the signature of *Philo-Junius*, thus, "I am convinced, that JUNIUS is incapable of wilfully misrepresenting any man's opinion, and that his inclination leads him to treat Lord Camden with *particular candor and respect*."

Yet all these facts are but trifling indications of the high regard of JUNIUS for Lord Camden, compared with his expressions in his final Letter, which is addressed to that great lawyer. It is in a strain of dignified solicitude, as if supplicating the guardian angel of Britain to preserve from injury the sa-

cred temple of the laws, endangered by its *Chief Hierophant*.* He says, in a style of remarkable grandeur,

“MY LORD,—I turn with pleasure from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification.

“I call you, in the name of the English nation, to stand forth in defence of the laws of your country, and to exert, in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities, with which you were entrusted for the benefit of mankind.”—“After the noble stand you made against *Lord MANSFIELD* upon the question of libel, we did expect that you would not have suffered that matter to have remained undetermined.”—“Your Lordship’s character assures me, that you will assume that principal part which belongs to you, in supporting the laws of England against a wicked judge, who makes it the occupation of his life to misinterpret and pervert them.”—“When the contest turns upon the interpretation of the laws, you cannot, without a formal surrender of all your reputation, yield the post of honor even to *Lord CHATHAM*.”—“Considering the situation and abilities of *Lord MANSFIELD*, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to GOD for my sincerity, that, in *my* judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavouring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of justice. I have bound the victim, and dragged him to the altar. JUNIUS.”

We know not how this article concerning Camden, Chatham, and Junius will strike the mind of our reader ; but for

* *Madox* says, that the Chief *Justiciarius* was the greatest subject in England. Beside presiding in the King’s Court and in the Exchequer, he was originally, by virtue of his office, the Regent of the Kingdom, during the absence of the Sovereign, which, till the loss of Normandy, occurred very frequently. Writs, at such times, ran in his name, and were tested by him.—*History of the Exchequer*.

ourselves we, with all our cautious quality, cannot resist saying, that it makes strongly in favor of the identification of JUNIUS with CHATHAM. It appears, that Chatham and Camden were bound together in strict friendship all their lives without any interruption. *Fortunati ambo*, indeed! The closing Letter of JUNIUS and the executorship of *Camden* rivet our opinion, and strengthen our hypothesis. Next to Lord Camden, it seems that *Lord Temple* was the confidential friend of Lord Chatham. This friendship was once unhappily broken between the brothers, but soldered, and rendered thereby stronger than ever. We next raise our eyes to

LORD MANSFIELD.

William Murray, *William Pitt*, and *Charles Pratt*, or, as they are better known by their titles of *Mansfield*, *Chatham*, and *Camden*, were three of the greatest men of their day. We may add to them a fourth, *Edmund Burke*, a politician *sui generis*.

The subject of this rapid sketch was early distinguished as a very able, industrious, and learned young man, and, at length, an acute and solid lawyer, a charming speaker, and accomplished gentleman. Though immersed in the dry study of the law, Mr. Murray's active and ambitious mind gave constant proofs of its ingenuity, and aided him to a refinement of manners superinduced on an amiable disposition, which imparted an air of high breeding and elegance; and all these accomplishments were recommended by an uncommonly handsome person, totally free from all that impatience, which, at times, marked and marred the illustrious Chatham. There was one defect, however, which, though a trait of an amiable disposition, weakened his force as a great parliamentary orator,—a dash of timidity, that induced a habit of discretion or prudence, for which the Scotch are remarkable all the world over. In this respect he was the reverse of Mr. Pitt, who, with less learning, had more genius and courage of all kinds; for with a Demosthenical style of oratory, and a fearless heart that

winged his words with lightning, he struck down all before him, frequently covering his opponent with paleness and dismay. The impetuous and domineering manner of Chatham sometimes overwhelmed the cool and guarded logic of Mansfield.

Naturally and nationally partial to the *Stuart* dynasty, Lord Mansfield was yet a loyal and even a favorite subject of King George the Third, and of the Princess Dowager of Wales, so early as the time when it was supposed that *Prince George* was in the leading-strings of Lord Bute.

We need not say, that Lord Mansfield was a *Tory* and Lord Chatham a *Whig*.* Opposite in political principles, they were, it seems, rivals in fame, and, as far as we know, in the favor of the Sovereign. Some have thought that Lord Chatham envied Mansfield's learning, abilities, and influence, and that he sought occasion in Parliament to diminish them. He certainly spoke to him and of him in a spirit of apparent rancor, and did not withhold a sarcasm as long as he was able to utter any thing. Henry Fox (Lord Holland), in a letter to

* These cant terms, having been long since engrafted on classical language, have become fixed, though a little variant in the United States from the sense they bear in their original soil. *Tory*, in England, means one who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state, and to the apostolical hierarchy of the church of England.—Johnson. *Whig*, one who advocates the constitutional rights of the people, as established at the British revolution in 1688. In America, those who advocated resistance to British encroachments, during the reign of George the Third, were called *Whigs*; while *Tory* is synonymous with a *royalist*, or an advocate for our dependence on the realm of Great Britain; so that we had in this country *Episcopalian Whigs*, and high *Presbyterian Tories*. In England, I have seen the *aristocracy* of Whiggism, and often the unobtrusive and amiable carriage of *Toryism*. Our celebrated countryman Dr. Franklin, when colony-agent, tried in vain, for a series of years, to get access to *Mr. William Pitt*, though well acquainted with his private secretary, Mr. Wood, when he might have met with no difficulty in speaking with the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. In process of time, Lord Chatham returned Franklin's visit in Craven street, and Lord Mansfield took particular care to notice, in the House of Lords, our first minister, John Adams.

the *Marquis of Hartington* gives an account of Pitt's wonderful eloquence, the day preceding, in the House of Commons, which he describes in strains of rapture. His letter begins thus.—“More news! Pitt entertained us again yesterday; and I never wished more than yesterday for your Lordship, for the pleasure it would have given you. I sat next Murray, *who suffered for an hour.*”

We would ask, in passing, whether any one was ever known to treat that great man with the like harshness of language, even to bitter invective, JUNIUS alone excepted? It has been often remarked, that the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was seen to turn pale and tremble, when Lord Chatham rose up and turned his menacing eyes upon him. It could not be entirely for his advising and aiding the ratification of the peace in 1763, although that had a powerful operation in the mind of the administrator of the war against France; for he indulged himself in the like strains of invective before that period. Every one knows that the prime agent in making that abominable peace was the *Earl of Bute*, and that that nobleman regarded his countryman Lord Mansfield as an oracle in everything; and it is as well known, than an animosity between Chatham and Mansfield grew up and increased from the year 1762 to the close of the life of the former.

Earl Mansfield invariably voted against the repeal of our obnoxious stamp act. The celebrated protest, which followed the repeal, if not written originally by him, was certainly drawn up under his eye, and defended, word by word, by the same personage. He uniformly and steadily advocated the coercion of these colonies. In 1770 he supported the partial repeal of the port-duties, but carefully continuing that Trojan horse, the *duty on TEA*, which the British to this day consider the immediate cause of their unhappy contention with and final loss of America. When the whig phalanx, with Lord Rockingham at its head, and Burke its cornet, went out of office, they left the *declaratory act* as a *salvo* for the honor, or, as some imagined, the deserted power of Great Britain, Lord Mansfield

united with the administration in thinking, that the act for laying on the port-duties would be the means of breathing a soul into the declaratory act, which, without it or some other species of acquiescence and active acknowledgment on the part of America, must, he thought, remain lifeless, nugatory, and ineffective ; for he looked upon the repeal of the stamp act as a tacit relinquishment of the supreme authority of Britain over this country. In a word, the Lord Chief Justice was an *uniform* and *hearty supporter* of ALL the measures of George the Third in striving to bring America to his feet. Yet every coercive measure, from the stamp act in 1764 to our declaration of independence, produced a directly contrary effect to that which its abettors predicted. It is remarkable, however, that Mansfield built all his arguments and reasoning upon the single supposition, that America had, *from the beginning of her history, aimed at independency*, and that the utmost the people of America would *ever* be prevailed upon to consent to, would be an acknowledgment of the *personal* supremacy of the KING of Great Britain, detached, in that instance, from, and unconnected with *his* Parliament. And this may be considered as a renewed proof of the superior sagacity of that very able man. If Lord Chatham did not see this determination in the leading men of New England and in Virginia, it was because he would not.

There certainly was something very much resembling hatred between Mansfield and Chatham in the reign of the Third George. Ambition, the pride of great minds, is liable to convert generous rivalry and competition into envy, which sees nothing in a rival in a fair light. This unhappy passion grudges due praise to the merit of another, and naturally generates aversion, a corrosive mixture, which is apt to acquire, in advanced life, the morbid acrimony of hatred and malice, and sometimes the venom of revenge. We have never been able to detect very much of it in the Lord Chief Justice. A man in that station ought to be as free from it as an Archbishop in his, though he was so imprudent as to soil his ermine with

politics. Whether there be any symptoms of venom or revenge in the writings of JUNIUS, is left to the decision of every judicious and candid reader.

While the Earl of Chatham was in the storms of political strife, and sometimes in its hurricanes, Lord Mansfield was preserved by a gentle spirit from all such tempests, and, we may add, from their heart-sinking calms. Until his house was destroyed, and his library and manuscripts burnt by a London mob, he had gone through life with an unruffled temper; whereas *Chatham* had encountered enough to ruffle the temper of an Epictetus or a Socrates. He saw a man,* who was never consulted in any negotiation before, nor ever labored for his country, with a single stroke of his pen, assign to France and Spain the fruits of conquests which had cost him the deepest thought and consideration to plan, and Englishmen the utmost exertion to achieve. *Who can wonder at his INDIGNATION?*

It appears that JUNIUS had taken as fixed a resolution to pull down Lord Mansfield, as he, with *Lord Bute* and their respective adherents, had to divest Chatham of his vast popularity, and drive him from the service of his King and Country. Neither of them obtained his wish entirely. Chatham's sun sat in all its glory; while Mansfield's seemed to go down in a cloud, from the truculent fury of a London mob, totally blind to his merits, and incapable of comprehending his errors!

Henry Fox,—*Lord HOLLAND.*

To my view it appears clearly, that both JUNIUS and *Lord CHATHAM* had a regard or forbearing friendship for Lord Holland, without that amalgamation which appears to have subsisted between Chatham, Camden, and Lord Temple, and even George Grenville. Taking this for granted, we shall try, in this sketch, to explain it; and if we cannot, others may from our imperfect hints.

* The Duke of Bedford.

We have said already, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt were knit together in friendship at Eton school. Fox was the elder by three years. They were young men of different constitutions, complexions, and habits. Fox was one of those dark-visaged, iron-fibred men, more resembling one of our aboriginal Indian warriors of the very first rank, than what he really was, a man of pleasure in a refined society. Frank, generous, and unguarded in his temper, he had a kindness in his manners that attached people to him of both sexes. He was, however, sadly addicted to gaming, without a sordid feeling, being universally respected as a man of honor, spirit, and integrity.

Fox and Pitt were frequently opposed to each other as far back as the year 1754. The latter treated him, at times, as he did every other opponent, and sometimes worse; yet each for the other had a steady friendship, partaking of kindred affection, rather than congeniality of mind and habits. If Pitt said a very severe thing in debate, and none could say severer, which seemed to wound the feelings of his old school-fellow, he generally followed it with something soothing. With keenness of remark he commonly mixed something commendatory, but in few words; his friendship for Mr. Fox appears to have been of that kind which ever excludes gaudy eulogy,—like that of one good-natured, overbearing brother for another. Though naturally quick, passionate, and resentful, it was apparent to all in the House, that Fox bore the lash of the “great Commoner” with wonderful coolness, and when very severe, in a sort of sullen silence, as much as to say,—How can you treat me so! On one occasion, when the debate had been very warm, and the flagellation severe, and the taunts personal, Mr. Pitt declared to the House, that he never descended to personality towards Mr. Fox; who, on his part, wished that every evil might befall him, if, when Secretary of State, he had said, as was suspected, or hinted any thing to the King (George the Second) to Mr. Pitt’s disadvantage; for the old monarch was very partial to Fox, and almost hated Pitt.

The honorable fact was, Mr. Fox was proud of the extraordinary talents of Lord Chatham without envying his friend, —a brilliant proof of his noble disposition.

Lord Chesterfield, too little known in America, and only by his lightest productions,—the Letters to his Son,—says, that “Mr. Henry Fox had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business; great skill in *managing* (that is, *corrupting*) the House of Commons, and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to him; and that he wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised, and most liberally rewarded their attachments and dependence. By these and other means that can be easily imagined, he made himself many personal friends and political dependants.” But Chesterfield, that competent judge of mankind and of motives, adds, “*He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality; and was too unwary in ridiculing and exploding them.*” *

Mr. Heron, in a note on JUNIUS, says, “Mr. Fox was one of the most amiable of men in private life,—as a father, tender, and attentive to educate his children upon that plan which his notions of virtue, ability, and accomplishments, made him believe to be best. *His morality was that of honor*; his political principles had been learned in the school of Walpole.” It is probable that the eagle-eyed Chatham saw all this and more, and therefore deemed him hardly fit to advise and direct a Sovereign, whose high office connected him with the church as well as the state, and who was unusually attached to all the forms and ceremonies of the Episcopal church. Chatham, however, employed him long in the highly responsible and confidential office of Secretary at War, during the whole of his famous administration. George the Second was very desirous of securing the services of Mr. Fox in his cabinet. He used to say he could understand all he said; but that he could not always comprehend the meaning of the eloquent speeches made to him by

* Yet he kept in his family the *Rev. Dr. Francis*, the father of *Sir Philip*, and the translator of Horace, for his Chaplain.

his Secretaries and Minister, Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt. When the latter was called to form an administration, he would not admit Fox into the government, or associate with him in council. He doubtless knew somewhat of his habits, or his notions of things, unfitting him for a privy counsellor to such an orthodox Prince as George the Third. Mr. Fox held the lucrative and highly responsible post of Secretary at War, during Pitt's renowned administration, to the entire satisfaction of that minister.

When the new ministry was on the tapis, the gossiping Duke of Newcastle asked Mr. Pitt, invidiously, "if he could bear to act UNDER Mr. Fox?" Pitt replied, "Leave out *under*, my Lord. It will never be a word between us. Mr. Fox and I shall never quarrel." Just before Lord Bute abandoned the helm, Henry Fox was created *LORD HOLLAND*; and then he became, in a degree odious, from a popular suspicion, that he was the confidential friend of that very unpopular Scotch nobleman, and accordingly he was accused of malversation in office, and that charge was actually made in a very bold remonstrance to the King from the CITY OF LONDON; in which Lord Holland was characterized as "*a paymaster, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions*," on whom the King had conferred public honors and employments, instead of punishment. This solemn charge excited uneasiness in JUNIUS, who says to his printer, Woodfall, in a private letter, July 21, 1769,—"*I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honor. If his cause be good, he should, at once, have published that account.*"

Upon this, Lord Holland came out in print, and justified himself. To the foregoing passage, from the Letter of JUNIUS, the editor of Woodfall's last edition says, "The editor has already observed, in the Preliminary Essay, that JUNIUS appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or at least a partiality for, Lord Holland." The remark is not new; it was noticed long ago.

We shall call up but one more witness to prove the very friendly feeling of JUNIUS towards the virtuous heathen,—I mean the *Roman* Senator and paymaster. It bears the genuine marks of JUNIUS, which is more than can be said of several Letters collected under the head of “*Miscellaneous*,” in *Dr. John Mason Good’s* edition of them, published by the Younger Woodfall.

In October 1771, JUNIUS was attacked and criticized by a writer in “*The Public Advertiser*,” who called himself “*An Old Correspondent*,” and who turned out to be *Young Charles Fox*, son of *Lord Holland*, whom JUNIUS condescended to notice thus :

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

“SIR,—If the pert youth, who calls himself an *old* correspondent, and who makes free with JUNIUS, does not know the difference between *contact* and *collision*, nor between the *friction* which produces the electrical powers, and the action of the flint and steel which produces sparks of fire, his ignorance must be deplorable. But what right has he to change the terms?—Why *contact*, when JUNIUS says *collision*? When this pert youth asks what virtue there is in Mr. Wilkes, I wish he would tell us what fire there is in flint and steel. It is *action* that makes them sparkle; and if there be any thing combustible in the passions of Mr. Nash, a single spark may set him on fire.

“Again. JUNIUS admits the strict right of pressing seamen, but denies the King’s right to arm his subjects in general, excepting in case of invasion. This, my pretty *Black Boy* calls a retraction of JUNIUS’s first concession, and applies to his aged father for an old woman’s proverb. JUNIUS speaks of *softening the symptoms of a disorder*. The *Black Boy* changes the terms again, and destroys the allusion. The rest of his letter is of a piece with these instances; a misrepresentation of JUNIUS, equally pert, false, and stupid. *Ex his disce omnia*.

"I know nothing of JUNIUS, [!]" * but I see plainly, that he has designedly spared *Lord Holland* and his family. Whether Lord Holland be invulnerable, or whether JUNIUS should be wantonly provoked, are questions worthy the *Black Boy's* consideration. ANTI-FOX."

Whatever impression this letter may make on others, I confess it makes a strong one upon me. It appears to clinch the nails already driven. Of the innumerable assailants of JUNIUS of every calibre, he could have swept them all aside like so many insects; but here was one written by a *boy*, crowded with misrepresentations and errors, which JUNIUS nevertheless deemed worthy of his deliberate notice; for this Letter is not a careless production; and though the very extremity of the lower limb, we learn—*ex pede Herculem*. The whole composition affords *internal evidence*, that it was not written to Lord Holland's *pet* alone, but to reach *Little Pickle's* PAPA also. The whole Letter is masterly among the familiar ones. It gags the boy, and admonishes him not to exercise his *gosling* pen upon the friend of his father and family. When we consider the extremely faulty indulgence of Lord Holland towards his brilliant son, *Charles*, the Letter of ANTI-FOX must have been not a little nettling, as it ridicules the ignorance of a youth, whom the over fond father used to exhibit to his company as a prodigy of learning and talents.

If JUNIUS saw that it was proper to check the too forward boy, he took special care not to inflict a wound that would leave a scar behind; his stroke only affected the *epidermis*, a black mark which the boy received from the *black man*, his doting father, and which was therefore no moral stain upon the son.†

* Here it seems JUNIUS *knew nothing of himself!* If the attentive reader will put THIS and THAT together, there is little doubt but he and the author will come out at the end of the same road; and, on looking back upon it, he will wonder he never took it before.

† He who doubts this may read "*CHRYSAE or the Adventures of a Guinea*," written by *Charles Johnstone*; a coarse historical satire, in which there are but two good characters to be found, namely, the *Right Hon. William Pitt* and *General Wolfe*. Coarse as it is, it doubt

The language of the whole Letter was,—Be quiet, and provoke not one who is able to demolish you, and who has no disposition to trouble any of Lord Holland's family, vulnerable as the head of it is.*

The Letter of ANTI-FOX is worth preserving. It bears the indubitable impress of JUNIUS. It shows the writer's tenderness towards Lord Holland and his family, and his friendship in condescending to check a youth, lest he should injure them or himself. He lets them know, by his signature, and by his allusion to his *swarthy* visage, that he knew him, which was enough to arrest his hardihood. It is valuable on another account. It confirms what was said in our chapter on acknowledged "*DIFFICULTIES to be removed*," where we said that JUNIUS must have stipulated with his conscience not to boggle at an *untruth*; and here we have a glaring instance of it; for he makes no scruple of *saying the THING WHICH WAS NOT*. How could he HIMSELF say, "*I KNOW NOTHING OF JUNIUS?*"

He must have reasoned thus with his conscience.—Stratagem is allowed to be the sublime part of war, where the hero holds up an appearance of something which he does not intend, while under that mask he secures an important object. If, then, a consummate military commander may, unblamed, *act a lie* in his plan of attack or defence, and call it by the softened name of *ruse de guerre*, why may not I write, occasionally,

less gave origin to the *North Briton*, and that to the celebrated LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

* *Robert Bisset, LL. D.*, in his History of George the Third, says, (in a note, Vol. iv. p. 4.) that, when he first came to London, he was struck with surprise at the free and easy terms in which some of the butchers and lower adherents of Charles Fox accosted, at the hustings, a personage of his transcendent superiority. It was in the endearing style of fond comrades, on a footing of perfect equality,—"*Charles! my sweet boy,—God bless your BLACK face!—don't be afraid, my lad, we are your friends.*" No such thing ever occurred in Boston, democrats as we are. No,—our elections are conducted with great order and personal decorum; and our legislative assemblies, in a style and manner, which some of the European legislatures would do well if they imitated,

a falsehood to elude detection, and secure my otherwise endangered life,—I, who am a political reformer,—a redresser of wrongs, and the champion of rights? Shall the bloody steel alone advance in safety under an *Ægis* of disguise, and shall the feeblér PEN be deprived of the like protection and safeguard?

The Duke of BEDFORD.

As the rich *Duke of BEDFORD* has had a double portion of JUNIUS's scorn, let us inquire into the cause of it.

The Duke of Bedford, to whom JUNIUS addressed the bitter letter, dated the nineteenth of September, 1769, became, from several causes, the richest subject in the realm. According to that letter, it appears, that his immense wealth, instead of elevating him in the eyes of the considerate, and widening his sphere of benevolent usefulness, operated, like an enormous weight, to lower him down in the public estimation. Yet a very rich man will always have very great influence in such a community as England, as well as in our own.

This spoiled child of fortune was sent ambassador to France by the *Earl of BUTE*, on the very critical occasion of the peace, and had the honor, or, according to the popular voice, the infamy, of negotiating the inadequate peace of 1763. On his return to England, he quarrelled with Lord Bute, and grossly insulted the King. Such is the arrogance of riches.*

John Russell, Duke of BEDFORD, had reason for boasting of a long line of illustrious ancestry; yet was he rendered contemptible and even odious by the pen of JUNIUS, who speaks of him in a tone of horror. During the reigns of King William and of Queen Anne, the head of the House of Rus-

* On one occasion, "the Duke demanded an audience of George the Third; reproached him, in plain terms, with his *duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery*, and *hypocrisy*; repeatedly gave him the lie; and left him in convulsions." These are the words of JUNIUS, in a note to his Twenty-third Letter.

sell was distinguished among the most zealous of the whigs, To this degenerate one, JUNIUS speaks thus. "You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank, a splendid fortune, and a name glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities, than I think you possess. From the first you derived a constitutional claim to respect ; from the second, a natural extensive authority ; the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honorable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind." He then touches on several little, disgraceful things, of a public, domestic, and middle character ; among them he records the woful fact, that a country attorney horsewhipped the Duke, with equal justice, severity, and perseverance, on the race-ground at Litchfield. Such was the general character of the representative of Lord Bute at the court of Versailles,—a man, says Junius, who had as little feeling for his own dignity, as for the welfare of his country.

Mr. Pitt had no objection to a peace with France and Spain, provided it were made on conditions consistent with the vigor and success with which he had carried on the war. But what must have been his mortification on seeing persons who were never concerned or consulted in any negotiation before (as was the case with the Duke of Bedford) assigning to the enemy, with the "single stroke of his pen," conquests, which it had cost Lord Chatham the deepest consideration to plan, and the greatest attention and labor to carry into effect. Before the Duke was sent to Paris, France had avowed herself ready to make very many sacrifices to put an end to the war. The Duke of Choiseul, the French minister, put in operation all the arts of refinement to lower the high demands of the haughty Mr. Pitt, who always carried a lofty mind towards France and Spain. Knowing thoroughly the distressed condition of France,—her commerce destroyed, and her royal navy nearly annihilated, he saw this was the critical time to establish the lasting pre-eminence of

Great Britain, before Spain and France united in their contemplated *family-compact*. He knew that *he* could prescribe the terms of peace and secure to himself the glory of it ; and Lord Bute and those immediately about him knew it also ; but the darling object of his Lordship was to prostrate the political idol which the People, Parliament, and Fame, had set up ; and by thus pulling down the fabric of Chatham's glory, they thought to put an end to his mighty influence in the nation. To effect this he formed connexions with those who hated and envied the great man. The first movement was to pull from under him such a substantial prop as the Right Hon. H. B. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This dismissal was pointedly reprehended by JUNIUS.

Now, if JUNIUS was *Lord CHATHAM*, we see ample reason, not only for his contempt, but utter antipathy, towards the richest Peer in England. We cannot otherwise account for his dwelling, with hyena-like pleasure, on the rotten part of the Duke of Bedford's character. He says of him, " Your patrons wanted an ambassador who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honorable conditions for his Sovereign. Their business required a man, who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country ; and they found him in the first rank of nobility. *Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique*, the *Fishery*, and the *Havanna*, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made without some private compensation. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice."

Still this branch of the noble House of Russell had great influence, by means of his riches and numerous dependents, passing down through rills and runnels, even to gutters ; in so much that Lord Chatham, when about to form a new administration in 1766, deemed it politic to engage the interest of the Duke of Bedford and his numerous friends. Lord Ches-

terfield speaks thus of it to his son. "Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and *his people*, but they could by no means agree; and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn [his country residence]; so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take next; for some he must have; even *he* cannot be alone *contra mundum*." But the truth must be told. "That superiority of mind, and perhaps the gout, which had denied him the usual habits of intercourse with the world, gave an air of austerity to his manners, and precluded the policy of a convenient condescension to the minutiae of politeness, and fascinating powers of address, when most needed." *

That the general character of the Duke of Bedford was very exceptionable we believe; but the particular instances of it we venture not to record at this distance of time and space. In the height of religious or political controversy, what prudent man will venture to fix the character of any leader? We may relate what was said, and leave it to truth and time. The caustic JUNIUS treats with ridicule his Grace the Duke of Grafton; but he speaks of the Duke of Bedford with horror, and exclaims, "Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Woburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Whichever way he flies, the *hue and cry* of the country pursues him. As well might VERRES return to Sicily." What a portrait!

* Anecdotes of the Life of Chatham.

This was a critical period in the history of George the Third, and of the great Statesman whom we have presumed to celebrate. Lord Chatham's ill health, aside from mere gout, affected his lofty spirit. He had now attained the critical place in the ladder of human life, and at this climacterical round of it he suffered like a common man ; yet he afterwards blazed out brighter than ever in the House of Lords. Three years after this period, JUNIUS addressed that very severe letter to his Grace of Bedford, from which we have made some extracts. Woodfall was afraid to publish it ; but was encouraged to it by a private letter from JUNIUS in these words. " As to *you*, it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave ! "

Now, what man, what subject can be named, that could possibly have excited in Lord Chatham more resentment and disgust, than this same Duke of Bedford ?

In the peace he made, he gave up those West-India islands enumerated in the bitter epistle already noticed,—the valuable fruits of Lord Chatham's labors and success. We therefore perceive ample reason for keen, and, one would think, lasting resentment towards the Duke ; insomuch that we cannot readily believe, that a very able, ambitious, renowned, and eloquent man, situated and circumstanced as Earl Chatham really was, would go down quietly to the grave without leaving behind some written memorial of those bereavements and the cause of them, without giving some vent to his indignant feelings through his pen, and that too in the severe and acrimonious style of the Letter from which we have made extracts, in order to brand the man, who, by " a single stroke of his pen," assigned to the French and Spaniards conquests which had cost the minister and the nation such unparalleled exertions to achieve. There is yet another, and to us mortifying view of the subject.

Lord Chatham could not but have known the reputation, nay, more, the character of the Duke of Bedford. We say the *character*, that which marks the man, and never fails to show itself in spite of hypocrisy, be his reputation whatever it may. We overrate the character of Chatham, if he was not a personage who looked through reputation, or what others thought, to those indelible marks which stamp the man good, great, and generous, or mean, sordid, and vicious. The vulgar are warped by name, by title, by vast riches, and their splendid concomitants ; but the deep impress of the Duke's personal character must have been fixed in the mind of our great statesman even at the time when impaired health and gloomy ideas pressed heavily upon it at Bath. It appears therefore strange, passing strange, that Lord Chatham could ever, for a moment, have felt the least wish to associate himself in office with any Peer, however high in rank or abounding in riches, with such a cast of character as that which common fame attributed to *John Russell, Duke of Bedford*. How could a man of Chatham's well known character,—integrity itself personified,—endure to be yoked to the same car with one staggering through the world under such a weight of odium as that laid upon the Duke of Bedford ; a man base enough, fool enough, to treat his Sovereign in a worse manner than any genuine nobleman would indulge towards an equal ?

We can account for Lord Chatham's overture to the Duke of Bedford, only by supposing that he hoped to recover sufficient health to enable him shortly to exert himself once more in the cause he had long espoused. Otherwise we should be puzzled to explain how he should risk *roiling* the fountain-head, by placing near it such a foul character ; a deed that would have justified Sir Philip Francis in saying of Lord Chatham, whom he almost idolized, that he was " a great, illustrious, *faulty* human being." But as it stood without explanation, it doubtless opened a wide avenue for obfuscation. His admiring biographer says, this was the least glorious period of his life. Now how happened it, that this very conspicuous and influential character

escaped the lash of JUNIUS, seeing his Lordship's bare back lay so fair for it? How came the great file-leader of whiggism to escape, in this instance, the animadversion of the keen censor of the age, the fastidious *arbiter morum*, the eagle-eyed JUNIUS?—of him, who at his outset denounced Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden, as risking the integrity of the British empire merely to destroy George Grenville as a minister? He, who can explain this silence, and that denunciation from the same pen, upon any other hypothesis than our own, merits from the author the homage due to a *Magnus Apollo*.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON

Having called forth a treble portion of the vituperation of JUNIUS, we are now to search out the hidden cause of it.

We understand clearly, why the Earl of Chatham hated the Duke of Bedford, who did all in his power to demolish the triumphal arch which Fame had erected to the honor of that great man; but we do not see so distinctly how JUNIUS, upon our hypothesis, had equal reason for detesting the *Duke of Grafton* as a politician. He appears rather a weak and trifling man, than a very wicked or dangerous one; hardly worth the powder and shot expended upon him. Or was it to show that a mere effigy of a Prime Minister was wanted by a Sovereign determined to be his own?

JUNIUS, under the signature of ATTICUS, October 19, 1768, says, "When the *Duke of Grafton* first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His Grace had honorably fleshed his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favorites, looked up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his Grace to enter into ad-

ministration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon *him*. He then accepted the Treasury upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained. For a short time, his submission to Lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a letter without Lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity of judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign. The next, he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friends he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistency. The stamp act had been repealed (no matter how unadvisedly) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to good humor. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it. [Why not say the *King* thought proper to revive it, and the young Duke was disposed to gratify him in that and in every thing else?] Without either plan or necessity, he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the *question* of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual, than that of the law which had been repealed.

"His standing foremost in the prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, if former declarations and connexions be considered, is base and contemptible. The man whom he now brands with treason and blasphemy, but a few years ago was the Duke of Grafton's friend, nor is his identity altered, except by his misfortunes. In the last instance of his Grace's judgment and consistency, we see him, after trying and deserting every party, throw himself into the arms of a set of men, whose political principles he had always *pretended* to abhor."

This is indeed an admirable portrait of a weakish, inconsistent, ignorant, and presumptuous weathercock of a young nobleman, who injudiciously grasped more than he could hold,

yet was sufficiently respectable as to rank to be a fit and gaudy tool for the secret and irresponsible cabinet of that day to work withal. The same Letter contains sketches of the characters of Lords North, Shelburne, Hillsborough, Granby, Weymouth, and Gower, with a very few words, not three lines, and those obscure, on poor Lord Chatham, as too much worn to the stump, like an old broom, to merit notice. He intimates that he had much to say of that forlorn nobleman, but forbears, because "it were inhuman to persecute, when Providence has marked out the example to mankind." Here the chalk, from some cause or other, possibly the *gout*, fell from the hand of JUNIUS ! and left the portrait for posterity to finish, and—to venerate ! At about six weeks' interval, he writes again under the signature of LUCIUS, and says, "I think I have now named all the cabinet but the *Earl of Chatham*. His infirmities have forced him into retirement, where, I presume, he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepid, worn-out old man."

JUNIUS, under his own proper signature, says to the Duke of Grafton, "You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord *Chatham's* protection. From Newmarket, White's, and the opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve ; grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business ; too young for treachery ; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment, yet you deserted him upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the favorite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him by joining with an administration in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world why you consented to act without him ;

or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him also.

“ Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his *name* from an administration which had been formed on the credit of it.”

Who could this JUNIUS be, who had such an *intimate* knowledge of the *mind* of Chatham and the heart of Grafton? Was he some ærial being, superior in essence to ourselves, who was thus capable of entering the minds and hearts of men, so as to even know their motives, views, and expectations? Or was this seemingly magical power no other than that which springs from the operation of a very strong mind over a weak one? Does our hypothesis savour of a creature of the imagination merely, or has it a real prototype?

JUNIUS says, in the same Letter, “ Your Grace’s public conduct as a minister, is but the counterpart of your private history;—the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the stamp act on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt’s surrender of the *right*;—then forward to Lord Rockingham’s surrender of the *fact*;—then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway’s undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford.”

JUNIUS, in a Letter to the Printer,* after describing the attachments which the Duke of Grafton had formed, broken off, or betrayed, says, that “ he made himself *accessary* to the untimely death of Mr. Yorke,—I say *accessary*, because he was certainly not the principal actor in that most atrocious business. After all, when it was impossible for him to add to his guilt—

* Under the signature of DOMITIAN.

ness, a panic seizes him ; he begins to measure his expectations by the sense of his deserts ; a visionary gibbet appears before his eyes ; he flies from his post, surrenders to another the reward due to his honorable services, and leaves his king and country to extricate themselves, if they can, from the distress and confusion in which he had involved them.

“ The danger, as he conceives, being now pretty well over, what plan do you think this worthy, resolute young man pursues at present ? While he was First Lord of the Treasury, it is well known (and I speak from knowledge when I assert) that he never treated Lord North even with the common civility due to his clerk. I appeal to Lord North himself, and to every clerk in the treasury (particularly to Grey Cooper), whether it was not known to be a difficult matter for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to obtain an audience even of Mr. Thomas Bradshaw. Would you believe it possible, Sir, that, after these facts, *this very Duke of Grafton* can be so degraded, so lost to every sensation of pride, of dignity, and decorum, as to be a suppliant beggar for employment to this very Lord North ? Yet so it is ; and if I were to tell you with what circumstances of humiliation he accompanies his suit to that minister, the narrative would be nauseous and fulsome. He is so very impatient to be First Lord of the Admiralty, that Lord North can hardly keep the fawning creature from under his feet. Now, Sir, let any man living, I care not whether friend or foe, review this summary of his life, and tell us in what instance he has discovered a single ray of wisdom, solidity, or judgment.

“ As to the other test of his abilities, I mean his talent for *talking in public*, I can speak with greater precision, for I have often had the honor of hearing him. With a very solemn and plausible delivery, he has a set of thoughts, or rather of words resembling thoughts, which may be applied indifferently, and with equal success to all possible subjects. There is this singular advantage in his Grace’s method of discourse, that, if it were once admitted that he spoke well upon any one given

topic, it would inevitably follow, that he was qualified to deliver himself happily upon every subject whatever. He would be *ipso facto* an universal orator. Accept of the following specimen of his Grace's eloquence, and I promise you, you will be as well able to judge of his oratorical powers, as if you had heard him a thousand times.

“ ‘ My LORDS,—When I came into the House this day, I protest I did not think it possible,—indeed I had formed in my own breast a resolution to the contrary,—but, my LORDS, I really thought it impossible, that I should be compelled to trouble your Lordships with *my* poor thoughts upon the question before your Lordships. I never do presume to trouble your Lordships at any time without feeling a pain, an internal regret,—a degree of uneasiness which, I can with truth assure your Lordships (and I flatter myself that I shall find credit with every noble Lord who hears me), it is not easy for me to have the honor of describing to your Lordships. My LORDS, I am called upon, as I humbly conceive, and I appeal boldly, not only to the candor of noble Lords, but to your Lordships' severer judgment, whether I am not compelled to declare my sentiments, as explicitly as I now do, upon the motion upon your Lordships' table. Upon this ground, my LORDS, I meet the noble Lord without fear, though I respect his superior abilities, and I pledge *myself* to your Lordships for the truth of what I assert. Otherwise, my LORDS, if facts were not as I have stated them, where will your Lordships draw the line? My LORDS, I am really *astonished*,—yet indeed, my LORDS, I ought not to be *astonished*. The question has been handled with so much ability by other noble Lords, that I shall content *myself* with this simple, unadorned declaration of my opinion. Yet I could quote cases, my LORDS, which I accidentally met with this morning in the course of my reading, which, I doubt not, would convince your Lordships, if conviction were the question. But I fear I have troubled your Lordships too long; I shall therefore return to the leading proposition, which I had the honor of setting out with, and *move for an immediate adjournment.* ’ ”

Should it be suspected, that this is not a correct likeness, but a caricature of the noble Duke, it must still be allowed that it is not a vulgar sketch. *Leo cognoscitur pede*. The same personage says, in all sobriety, in his first and masterly Letter, "The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expenses, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but, deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honorable engagement to the public, an apostate by design."

In a note to this text, JUNIUS says, "The Duke of Grafton took the office of secretary of state with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned, however, in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned; but that, under Lord Chatham, he would act in *any* office. This was the signal of Lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the treasury. Reader," says JUNIUS, "mark the consequence!" He snapped his finger in defiance of the great statesman and his *quondam* patron, thus evincing, that he was a minister exactly fitted for a King, who may be designated *maximus in minimis*.

LORD CHATHAM, in a speech delivered March 2, 1770, ridiculed the idea of the Duke of Grafton's having been minister, and laughed at his presumption in thinking so. He spoke of "the *secret influence of an invisible power*; of a favorite (*Bute*), whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and who, notwithstanding he was abroad,* was at this moment as potent as

* Although Lord Bute went to France with a view to lessen the clamor against him, his influence was little or not at all diminished by his absence. The nation felt it with disgust.

ever;—that Mazarine absent was Mazarine still. He had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office. There was no safety, no security against his power and malignity. The transaction of the late peace was a proof of his influence;—that measure was his. He himself had been duped; he confessed it with sorrow; he had been duped when he least expected treachery, at a time when the prospect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were strong;—in particular, at the time when he was taken ill, and obliged to go to Bath for a short week;—he had, before he set out, formed, with great pains, attention, and deliberation, schemes highly interesting and of the utmost importance to this country;—schemes, which had been approved in council, and to which the *King himself* had given his consent. But when he returned, he found that his plans had all vanished into thin air.

“Raising his voice, he declared in a dignified tone, ‘*that this country WAS SOLD at the late peace; that we were SOLD by the Court of Turin to the Court of France.* [That Court being the *go-between* in the preliminary articles of the peace between France and England.] When I was earnestly called upon for the public service, I came from Somersetshire with wings of zeal. I consented to preserve a *peace which I abominated*;—a peace I would not make, but would preserve when made. I undertook to support a government by law, but to shield no man from public justice. These terms were accepted, I thought *with sincerity* accepted. I own I was credulous; I was duped, I was deceived; for I soon found that there was no ORIGINAL administration to *be suffered* in this country. The same *secret influence* still prevailed, which had put an end to all the successive administrations as soon as they opposed, or declined to *act under it.*’

“Here the Duke of Grafton jumped up and exclaimed, ‘*I rise to defend the KING!*’ The words which have been spoken are only the effects of a *distempered mind*, brooding over its own discontent.’

“To which Lord Chatham calmly replied, ‘*I rise neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away the words I have spoken.*’ He then spoke of the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, which, he said, were suggested, nourished, and supported by *that secret influence* he had mentioned, first by secret treachery, then by official influence, and afterwards in public councils. ‘A long train of these practices,’ said he, ‘has at length unwillingly convinced me, that *there is something BEHIND the Throne GREATER than the KING himself.* As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled and agreed to by his Grace, both as to *measures* and to *men*, till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally launched.’” *

Mr. Nichols, whose father was *Archiatre* to George the Second, says, “that, from the commencement of the reign of George the Third, a struggle had existed between the King’s personal wishes and the opinions of his *ostensible* ministers; that the two first wishes, which he seems to have entertained, were to break the power of the Pelham faction, and to restore peace; that the instrument which he employed to effectuate his objects was unfortunately chosen; that the Earl of Bute was not qualified to be a minister;” and he adds, “that from the time of his removal we may date the establishment of the *double cabinet*, that is, *secret advisers*, and *ostensible* ministers.” He says further, “that the King dismissed George Grenville because he found him not sufficiently subservient to his views, and Lord Rockingham because he repealed the stamp act; and that when the Duke of Grafton was appointed minister, it was understood that he was to act under the guidance of the Earl of Chatham. But soon after the establishment of this ministry, and while Lord Chatham was sick and absent from council, the King *contrived* to have the question of *taxing*

* From the London Museum and Almon’s *Anecdotes of Lord Chatham*.

the American colonies revived; and, by playing man against man and faction against faction, he at length obtained his wishes; and the American colonies found themselves reduced to the alternative of unconditional submission, or explicit and avowed resistance." Mr. Nichols adds, "*They chose the latter*;" and "while the King was pursuing this object of reviving the dispute with America, he seems to have employed that maxim of the politician, *Divide et impera*, with much dexterity. The late Earl of Shelburne told a friend of mine," says Mr. Nichols, "that the King possessed one art beyond any man he had ever known; for that, by the familiarity of his intercourse, he obtained your confidence, procured from you your opinion of different public characters, and then availed himself of this knowledge to sow dissension."

How far this corresponds with a passage in a private letter from *John Wilkes* to JUNIUS, of September 12, 1771, is left to the feelings and judgment of each reader; viz. "*Lord CHATHAM said to me ten years ago, * * * * * is the falsest hypocrite in Europe. I must hate the man as much as even JUNIUS can, for through this whole reign almost it has been * * * * * versus Wilkes. This conduct will probably make it Wilkes versus * * * * **." †

"It is understood," says Mr. Heron, "that if the Duke of Grafton had remained faithful to Lord Chatham, had scorned all political association equally with the Bedford party as with those who called themselves the King's friends," the combination of the *Pitt* and *Grenville* with the *Newcastle* and *Rockingham* WHIGS, had been, ere that time, triumphant; and the King would have been obliged to resign the reins of his government into *their* hands, upon their own conditions. The

† I have seen these blanks filled up in print; but do not choose to reprint *guess* work, especially of a paragraph written by a man whose folly led him to set up a printing-press in his own house to print all the proceedings of the administration against him, *price one guinea!* and who, contrary to the advice of his *best* friends, reprinted all the *forty-five* numbers of his *North Briton*.

prevention of this was the *great crime* of the Duke of Grafton, in the eyes of the Whigs. And Mr. Heron adds, "*This was the CAUSE of JUNIUS'S ABHORRENCE of him.*"—[NOTE to his *Fifty-fifth Letter.*

LORD AMHERST

Is the last personage we shall cite to prove the consimilarity in opinion between JUNIUS and Lord CHATHAM, respecting the characters and conduct of men.

"*Jeffery Amherst*, the descendant of an old and most respectable family in the county of Kent, was born on the 29th of January, 1717. At a very early age, he devoted himself to the profession of arms. He received an ensign's commission in the guards when not more than fourteen years old. At the age of twenty-four he was made aid-de-camp to General Ligonier, and in that capacity was present at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Rocoux. After this he was admitted upon the staff of the Duke of Cumberland, and was engaged in the fatal battles of Lafeld and Hastenbeck. In the year 1756, he was appointed to command the fifteenth regiment of foot, and in two years more obtained the rank of major-general. Mr. Pitt, ever attentive to the character of the officers he employed, saw that the qualities of General Amherst rendered him a proper person to command the army in *North America*. He was accordingly appointed, and the brilliant operations of the campaign amply confirmed the high opinion entertained of him by Mr. Pitt. General Amherst, although a firm disciplinarian, was ever *the soldier's friend*. He was a man of strict economy, of a collected and temperate mind, and in the whole of his conduct appears to have been animated by a just sense of what was due to his country." *

* *History of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, by the Rev. Francis Thackeray, Vol. I.* Sir Jeffery Amherst was the most popular military officer ever sent from Britain into these colonies. I

Mr. Pitt, in a letter to General Amherst, of October 24, 1760, says, "I cannot sufficiently express to you the satisfaction of his Majesty on the further successes of his arms under your command;" and closes with saying, "I cannot conclude without adding *my* most hearty congratulations on the great honor you have acquired, and assuring you of the sincere part I shall take in every thing that can contribute to the increase thereof." And in a subsequent letter he says, "I have the further pleasure to acquaint you, that all ranks and degrees of people here have unanimously testified their sense of the many great services you have rendered your King and country." Mr. Pitt was always very frugal in bestowing high praises upon officers in his service.

The historian just quoted,* who is remarkably cautious of imputing blame to men in very high stations, says, that "the infirmities of Lord Chatham [in 1768] still prevented him from emerging from retirement, and compelled him to submit, in sullen submission, to *many severe outrages upon his feelings and his friendships.*" Among these he mentions an event "which was," he says, "certainly calculated to wound the *high spirit of Lord Chatham.* As a reward for the important services performed by General Amherst,—[nothing less than the reduction of Montreal and *all* Canada; or, in a word, wresting from the hands of France the *whole* of her power in *North America* ;] which services appeared still greater when contrasted with the untoward events under General Braddock, Lord Loudon, and General Abercrombie ;—for these brilliant deeds, General Amherst was appointed *Governor of Virginia*, with the privilege of *residing in England*, while his Lieutenant

well remember when the most frequent *signs* hung out at the inns, taverns, and smaller houses of entertainment in America, were portraits of the *Right Hon. William Pitt*, the *King of Prussia*, and *General Amherst*. One of *General Wolfe* remains in its original place, at this day, in Newburyport, while the bust of William Pitt, presented by Dr. Franklin, in the year 1770, adorns the spacious Library of the University of Cambridge.

* Thackeray.

dwelt in the 'ancient dominion.' Mr. Pitt had communicated these gracious marks of his sovereign's favor to the General, who, during several years, had enjoyed them without dispute. But disturbances," says the historian, "had since arisen in America; and it was deemed necessary by Lord Hillsborough, the minister who had been recently made for the *new* office of Secretary for the Colonies, that there should be a resident Governor in Virginia. It might be supposed, that one, so honorable and so disinterested as Sir Jeffery Amherst had proved himself to be, would not oppose his own accommodation to the welfare of his country, but would consent to waive his claim of non-residence, and either repair to the government, or, upon a just compensation, relinquish it to another. Such a proposition was accordingly made to him by the ministry [the Duke of Grafton's,] and at first he appeared to acquiesce in the propriety of the measure, [because he thought it might be for the good of the country.] Unfortunately," says the historian, "*he subsequently learned, that, before he himself had been consulted, his government had been promised to Lord Botetourt.* Indignant at such treatment, he demanded an audience of his Majesty, and tendered the resignation of his regiments."

"I have already expressed my astonishment," says Mr. Thackeray, "that Lord Chatham should so long have consented to form a part, even nominally, of an administration, whose sentiments and proceedings were so opposite to his own."—"Whatever were heretofore his motives for remaining in office, the recent conduct of the ministry was so *gross an outrage* upon *his feelings*, both as it regarded his public measures and his *private friendships*, that he now felt himself compelled to resign." This had a special reference to the ill treatment of General Amherst. Did Lord Chatham sit quietly under this *gross outrage of his feelings*?—If he did, JUNIUS *did not*.

In August, 1768, a letter appeared in the Public Advertiser, under the signature of VALERIUS, who, Mr. Woodfall the

younger assures us, was JUNIUS himself. The writer says, "Amidst the general indignation which has been excited by the marked affront lately put upon *Sir Jeffery Amherst*, it is odd to find people puzzling themselves about the motives which have actuated administration in this extraordinary procedure. Nothing is more short and easy, than the solution of this affected difficulty. They were *ordered* to act in this manner. [By the boyish Duke of Grafton?—No,—BY *his master*.]

"The public knows, and *can* know, no other reason. The ministry know, and *desire* to know, no other reason. They have not the slightest quarrel with Sir Jeffery Amherst. They have not the most trivial regard for Lord Botetourt. Some of them are known even to hate his Lordship; the rest are scarcely acquainted with him; but they have received the *order*, and that is enough for *them*. Their whole political system is wrapped up in one short maxim,—

"My *author* and *disposer*! what thou bidst
Unargued I obey!"*

Leaving VALERIUS, alias JUNIUS, for a moment, let us say a few words on the *government of Virginia*.

The original idea appears to have been that of a *Prefect* or *Governor-General* of the Colonies; for VIRGINIA was the original name of an immense region, including nearly all the British claims in America. Whether Virginia, so called by the English in honor of their Virgin Queen, was a favorite territory in the eyes of Lord Chatham, or whether he had any particular views in wishing to place his favorite General there, we are not prepared to say; and we only guess, that he may have wished to balance the colonial, democratical influence between New England and Virginia, should ever one or the other incline to independency. The first settlers of Virginia appear to have brought over with them as much of the English spirit of freedom as our forefathers in New-England, with all their boasted Puritanism, making due allowance for

* Milton.

the former as Episcopalians. The settlers of Virginia were authorized, by their charters, to govern themselves according to their own discretion. They were allowed to coin money, and to possess all the liberties and franchises of native Britons. The civil power was, at the beginning, deputed to a council appointed by the crown. They soon, however, elected a House of Representatives or House of Burgesses, which continued down to the period of our national independency. But they were not watched and overlooked by the jealous eye of the mother-country, as we in New England were. The powers, civil and ecclesiastical, had a better opinion of the obedience of Roman Catholics, and their first cousins, the English Episcopalians ; for Virginia, including the territory of Maryland, was settled by Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, both, in a degree, slaves by system, compared with the almost Indian freedom of the New England Independents, who were disposed to acknowledge no other Sovereign than King JESUS. That detached portion of Virginia, called Maryland, had a charter from King Charles the First, with more unlimited powers than even the original dominion. It expressly stated, that they should be free from all impositions of taxes and duties by Parliament. They actually were allowed to exercise, under a Roman Catholic Governor, all the high powers of a sovereign state. Virginia possessed as much of the essential privileges of independence as Massachusetts, if not more. Their colonial covenants partook more of treaties between two separate powers, than charters granted by a sovereign state to a dependent colony. They wisely enjoyed their freedom without boasting of it, or talking too much about it. They, however, unfortunately admitted the slavery of the Africans, in which they were encouraged by the mother country, while all New England wisely preserved herself free from it.

After George the Third came to the crown, when *John Stuart, Earl of Bute, Lord Mansfield, Lord Granville,* Archbishop Secker*, and the followers of the Princess Dowager of Wales, influenced the councils of the young monarch, it seemed voted and resolved in the interior cabinet, to curtail the exercise of self-government by the colonists, which they had left their native land to enjoy, and to reduce them to mere corporation privileges. A new system of governing America was contemplated immediately after the peace, in which raising a revenue by *internal* taxation was the prominent feature; and this was in addition to that external taxation, which the Americans already paid under the name of *regulations of trade*, and to which they had pretty cheerfully submitted for the benefit of the *whole* empire, as a contribution for their private security and public safety; and they adhered to it with far less smuggling than is practised in the ports of Great Britain. With this plan in view, it was at once foreseen, that General Sir Jeffery Amherst, the *élève* of *Pitt*, was not the man for *their* purpose. This *Butean* system (for so we think we have reason to designate the suggestions of the irresponsible cabinet, under which the *ostensible* administration of the obsequious Duke of Grafton acted) created a *new* office, a *Secretaryship of State for the American Department*, to which station the *Earl of Hillsborough* was appointed; and General Amherst was dismissed from his government of Virginia with so little ceremony, as to merit, according to JUNIUS, the name of insult, and *Lord Botetourt* appointed in his place.

Lord Hillsborough was a man of few and light talents in the opinion of JUNIUS, who, under the signature of *LUCIUS*, says, that his Lordship is civil and polite; that few men understand the little morals better, or observe the great ones less; that he can bow and smile in an honest man's face, while he picks his pocket. "These are the virtues of a court, in which

* We caution the young American reader not to mistake *Granville* for *Grenville*. The former was originally *Lord Carteret*, very honorably mentioned, if not flattered, by Dean Swift, in 1730.

your education," says JUNIUS, "has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned, that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of his country, while you, my Lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honorable interest in the ante-chamber of a favorite. "As a man of abilities for public business, your first experiment has been unfortunate. Your circular letter to the American governors, both for matter and composition, is a performance which a school-boy ought to blush for."—"Instead of clear, precise instructions, adapted to the temper, circumstances, and interests of the several provinces, wherein you might have shown your political abilities as well as your knowledge of that country,—what have you done?" Yet the ministerial writers of that day asserted, that Lord Hillsborough's great abilities were brought into public office *to correct the blunders of Pitt's administration!*

The answer of the Assembly of Massachusetts to Lord Hillsborough's *circular* was written entirely by *Samuel Adams*. Had we never seen the printed remarks of JUNIUS on his Lordship's Letter to the American Governors, we might have been excused for pronouncing one as the production of a boy, and the other that of an able, wise, and temperate man. This reply to the new-formed Secretary of State for America, together with the *circular* addressed to the *Sister Colonies* from the *same pen*, struck out a spark that set every Province in a blaze of patriotism, and produced, as usual, effects directly contrary to what were intended and predicted by the British ministry.

As to Lord Botetourt, JUNIUS describes him as a character very different from that of Amherst, whom he supplanted. He was one of the household troops, connected in office with the palace, being sword-bearer to his Majesty; previously to which he had ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. If this

be the true character of that nobleman, what a contrast to that of *Lord Amherst*.*

Such a man and such an officer as General Amherst, patronized so particularly by Lord Chatham, would have been the most proper person for a Governor-General of America, according to the British notions of governing us. We discover the political opinion of JUNIUS from the following passage of his Letter, addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, signed ATTICUS. "But I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit *must and will* produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the legislature, the event will be uncertain; but if we yield to the pretensions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment they become an independent people; they open their trade with the rest of the world, and England is undone.

"In these circumstances, calamitous as they are, I yet think the uniform direction of a great and able minister might do much. His earliest care, I am persuaded, would be to provide a fund to support the first alarm and expense of a rupture with France. If prepared to meet a war, he might perhaps avoid it. *His next object would be to form a plan of agreement with the colonies. He would consent to yield some ground to the Americans, if it were possible to receive a security from them, that THEY NEVER WOULD ADVANCE BEYOND A LINE THEN DRAWN, UPON CONDITIONS MUTUALLY AGREED ON.* By an equitable offer of this kind, he would certainly unite this country in the support of his measures; and I am persuaded he would have the reasonable part of the Americans on his side." †

* General Amherst was created a Peer in May, 1776. He was Commander in Chief of the armies of Great Britain several years, and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; was made a Field-Marshal in July, 1796; and died at Montreal, his seat in Kent, August 3, 1797.

† Letter XLV. October 6, 1768, ATTICUS. *Miscellaneous.*

I would here ask if this is not the precise doctrine which was maintained by *Lord CHATHAM* respecting America, and for which he contended against the *DUKE OF RICHMOND* to the last moment of his political existence?

The doctrine is explicitly this; Tax yourselves, govern yourselves, wear an union flag; and give us the preference in everything, and rely on the protection of *our* invincible navy, and never think of building one of *your own*.

“Henceforth let *Whig* and *Tory* cease,
And turn all party rage to peace;
Rouse and revive *our* ancient glory,
UNITE and DRIVE the world before ye.”

This was the feeling of the great body of *Whigs* on both sides of the Atlantic. A *few* only saw farther.

It is worse than labor lost, to rely on certain books called histories of England,—histories of the reign of George the Third, from the year 1762 to the term when peace was concluded with the United States. Each party exaggerates, or extenuates, or else omits the real state of facts, or places a real fact with its wrong end foremost, so as to appear what it is not. During the time specified, most truth is to be collected from anonymous writers. The Britons boast of their freedom of speech and freedom of the press; but their historians do not, half the time, speak what they know to be true of courts and crowned heads. Whether this be from fear of the law's steel trap, or merely the policy of the *trade*, we are too far off to determine. But it is a fact, that we have more exact and fearless accounts in print of the character and conduct of French Kings, Queens, Princesses, and their Courts, than of the Kings, Queens, Princesses, and Courts of the British nation; and far less backwardness in speaking of their follies and crimes. How comes this? Have the Britons more delicacy and gallantry than the French, or less liberty? The personal character and conduct of George the Third is less known and diffused throughout the island of Great Britain than throughout America. We are at such a

happy distance that we can take into view a larger landscape, and contemplate it with perfect composure, without fear of offending any body, as we do when judging of the history of ancient Greece and Rome. So we can judge of the means taken to destroy the richest fruits of the Herculean labors of Lord Chatham ; like the workings of the worm in the bottoms of ships, operating destruction silently and fatally under the surface.

However familiar in conversation, George the Third preserved remarkable state in some other matters. No court in Europe had so many officers, so many *footmen* of high rank. Think, republicans ! of noblemen, even aged Peers, waiting upon a young monarch, standing behind his chair, serving at his toilet, and dressing him ; and this degradation for money, for titles, ribbons, stars, so called, and offices of no business ; or, to express it all in one word, for NOBILITY ! * It is no wonder that JUNIUS was sarcastic, Chatham impatient, fretful, and, at times, contemptuous, in his intercourse with the privileged order, when sprigs of it were preferred before such characters as General Amherst, whose ill treatment is discussed in Letters, entitled Miscellaneous, between the Numbers XXX. and XLIV. in the younger Woodfall's edition of JUNIUS. They express not merely indignation but resentment. They hint that the manner of the affront was intended as a back-handed blow at Lord Chatham. Sir Jeffery Amherst, a soldier from infancy, and a very popular general, had carried his own fame and that of Pitt's through every town and village of Great Britain, Ireland, and America,—countries where public opinion bears on its strong wings every thing good or evil.

The Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge had talents and character which made him a most valuable adjunct to Lord Chatham. The baleful influence, of which that nobleman complained, was exerted to pull this prop from under him. Hence we conceive the indignation of JUNIUS at his dismissal, and

* See, on this head, Horace Walpole, and *Lemuel Gulliver's Travels in Lilliput*.

the almost rage of the same writer at the attempt to pull away the other substantial prop of Chatham's fame,—the popular general. He says of it, "A government shameless or ill advised enough to treat with disregard the obligation due to public services, not only sets a most pernicious example to its subjects, but does a flagrant injury to society. Reflections, such as these, crowded upon my mind the moment I heard that the late commander-in-chief had been dismissed, without ceremony, from his government of Virginia. I was grieved to see such a man so treated; but when I considered this step as an *omen* of the real resolution of the ministry with respect to America, I forgot, as he himself will do, the *private* injury, and lamented nothing but *the public misfortune*."

Lord Chatham doubtless saw, in prospective, the course of things in *Old* England and in *New*, and dreaded the consequences; dreaded a solution of continuity in the politics of the mother country and her offspring. This was a period of anxious solicitude with wise men on both sides of the Atlantic. The celebrated Horace Walpole, writing to his kinsman, General Conway, about that time, says, "The long expected sloop is arrived at last, and is indeed *a man of war*! The general CONGRESS have voted (1.) *A non-importation*. (2.) *A non-exportation*. And (3.) *A non-consumption*. The Americans, at least, have acted like men, gone to the bottom at once, and set the whole upon the whole. Our conduct has been that of pert children; we have thrown a pebble at a mastiff; and are surprised it was not frightened. Now we must be worried by it, or must kill the guardian of the house, which will be plundered the moment little master has nothing but the *old nurse* to defend it."

It was well that General Amherst was not sent out *Prefect* to this country, where Lord Botetourt met little else than mortification. Matters had proceeded too far, for even the prudent and popular Sir Jeffery Amherst to have managed with satisfaction to himself and to America. *Patrick Henry* in the *South*, and *Samuel Adams* in the *North*, had fixed their steady

eyes on Independency ; and nothing short of it could pacify those political seers and the few, who, at that early period, felt like them upon the great question of *self-government*. Not long after the period to which I refer, *their* sentiments became general ; when every thing about us, even the face and course of nature, the still small voice of religion,—all,—all were construed into so many calls, more or less loud, for a separation of vast America from the small island of Britain.

While war and vengeance were denounced by the ministry against the *rebellious* people of Massachusetts, the Governor of Virginia was instructed to use the gentlest promises of kind relief and satisfaction towards the Southern Colonists. Accordingly, *Lord Botetourt* says to the Assembly of Virginia, in May, 1769, “ I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you, by a letter from the Earl of Hillsborough, that his Majesty’s present administration *have at no time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue*, and that it is their intention to propose, in the next session of Parliament to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colors, *upon consideration of such duties having been paid contrary to the true principles of commerce.*”

In answer to the speech of the royal Governor to the House of Burgesses, they say to him, “ We have examined it [the conciliatory proposition] minutely ; we have viewed it in every point of light in which we are able to place it, and with pain and disappointment we must ultimately declare, it only changes the form of oppression without lightening the burden.” And, after saying that “ Lord Chatham’s bill on the one hand, and the terms of the Congress on the other, *would have formed a basis* for negotiation, which a spirit of accommodation, on both sides, *might perhaps* have reconciled,” they close with these impressive words. “ We have decently remonstrated with Parliament ; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications ; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honor and justice

of the British nation ; their efforts in our favor have been hitherto ineffectual. What then is to be done ? That we commit ourselves to the even-handed justice of that BEING who doeth no wrong ; earnestly beseeching Him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours of those to whom America hath confided her hopes, that, through their wise direction, we may again see re-united the blessings of liberty and property, and the most permanent harmony with Great-Britain." After expressing loyalty to the King and amity to the mother country, they adjourned. But four days after, they, in imitation of the Assembly of Massachusetts when they constituted their *Provincial Congress*, formed themselves into a *Convention of Delegates* to supply the place of the House of Burgesses, and went on in their legislative duties in the same form and order, making their parliamentary business a *continuation*, rather than a revolution of government.

Maryland, Virginia's offspring, followed her example ; and amongst other spirited resolves, their convention voted unanimously, that " We do unite as one band, and solemnly pledge ourselves to each other and to America, that we will, to the utmost of our power, support the present opposition carrying on, as well by arms as the continental association restraining our commerce." They moreover voted to enroll forty companies of "*minute-men*," of every effective *freeman* between sixteen and fifty, practising physicians and those persons who, from their religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, excepted." Thus was war lit up at both ends of the United Colonies, which neither Chatham nor Amherst could have averted, so long as the wretched policy of Britain was that of playing one colony against the other, on the imbecile maxim of *Divide and conquer*.

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSMISSION OF JUNIUS'S LETTERS.

IN the foregoing chapter we have inserted notices or sketches of those distinguished persons who appear prominent in the volumes of JUNIUS, omitting *Sir William Draper*, as a mere military character, incidentally brought before the public, and little connected with the design of this inquiry. Those personages were *Lord Camden*, *Lord Mansfield*, *Henry Fox*, *Lord Holland*, the *Duke of Bedford*, *Duke of Grafton*, and *General, Lord Amherst*.

We have overcome our reluctance to multiply pages, from a persuasion that we are bound to show, on our hypothesis, how Lord Chatham came to feel affinity, or affiliation, with Lord Camden; and how, also, repulsion as it regarded Lord Chief Justice Mansfield; and that the same affinity and repulsion pervade likewise the pages of JUNIUS. We deemed it of some importance to dwell a little upon the mixed feelings of Lord Chatham and of JUNIUS towards Lord Holland, a man of heterogenous composition, superinduced on a firm and honorable character. It was impossible to skip over the antipathy between JUNIUS and the Duke of Bedford, Lord Bute's representative in arranging the articles of the peace at the court of Versailles; he who tried to demolish the triumphal arch which Fame had erected, out of French materials, to the honor of Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

Not having, at first view, a clear sight of the cause which produced the remarkable vituperation of JUNIUS towards the Duke of Grafton, we were compelled to bestow more time and attention upon that political camelion, than the subject was really worth, unless it were to confirm the notion, prevalent in this country, that George the Third was in reality his own minister from 1762 to the peace with these United States

Wedwell with more interest on the article respecting General Amherst, as a link in the chain of our own history, and as exhibiting instances of abounding cunning and deficient wisdom in the efforts of the crown to force America to submit to her arbitrary system of internal taxation. I say *internal*, in contradistinction to the *external* contribution, connected with that superintendence which regulates and controls trade and navigation ; the one being private, individual, and sacred ; the other extended, and of complicated consideration, reaching as far as ships can sail or winds can blow. The majority of Parliament, without confining the remark to the country gentlemen, never appeared to us to understand this vital distinction.

Americans experience a pleasant consociation of ideas, whenever the names of *Sir Jeffery Amherst* and *William Pitt* * are mentioned. They recall to mind a happy period in our colonial history, as it regards those eminent characters, and bring up the pleasant idea of confidential friendship, entwining the palm of the soldier with the laurel of the statesman.

That JUNIUS should write a dozen Letters, under various signatures, expressive of his disgust at the treatment of General Amherst, and that the British public generally knew that treatment was a backhanded stroke at Lord Chatham, are facts of no small importance in establishing our idea of the *authorship* of JUNIUS. That disinterested nobleman bore the abuse in sullen silence as it regarded individuals ; but he denounced, in the

* We recollect seventeen towns in the United States, named in honor of Pitt. One built on the site of old *Fort Pitt*, at the confluence of the *Alleghany* and *Monongahela*, forming the *Ohio* ; now the *Birmingham* of America, in which are a national arsenal and very extensive armory. This flourishing town is called *Pittsburg*. Another of the same name in the county of *Chatham*, North Carolina. In New Hampshire and Massachusetts, several called *Pittsfield*, *Pittston*, *Pitts-ville*, *Pittsford*, &c. In New Hampshire is a flourishing town called *Amherst* ; in Massachusetts another with a college, called after the General ; one or more in the State of New York, and two in Virginia, besides certain mineral springs, bearing the name of *Amherst*. These are tokens of regard and gratitude, more lasting than statues, and more in character than graven images.

strongest terms, the political conduct of his enemies. "Were I disposed," said he in the House of Lords, when he offered his bill for conciliation with America, "to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would bear me out in, I could demonstrate, that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your interests ; in that view you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well knew, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms ; but sure I am, such are your well known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situations, who would wonder that you can put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and nature designed you ?" *

Lord Chatham gave himself a respite from all kinds of business in the year 1769. He attended Parliament in 1770 ; but not in 1771, 1772, and 1773 ; but in the year 1774 the affairs of America brought him forward again. In May, 1777, he re-appeared, and made one more effort to conciliate the perturbed spirits on both sides of the Atlantic, when he said,

"My Lords,—This is a flying moment ; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break ; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody ; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end of this country.

* This tremendous philippic against the whole administration was chiefly directed to Lord Sandwich, who insisted that *any* concession to America was an abandonment of the cause of government, in which he was followed by the Duke of Grafton and Lord Hillsborough.

I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health ; this is the judgment of my better days ; the result of forty years' attention to America. They are rebels ; but what are they rebels for ? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights ! What have these rebels done heretofore ? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France.* But their excesses have been great. I do not mean to be their panegyrist ; but must observe, in extenuation, the erroneous and infatuated councils which have prevailed ;—the door to mercy and to justice has been shut against them. But they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. [Referring to their petition.] I state to you the importance of America ; it is a double market ; the market of consumption and the market of supply. This double market for millions with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival.

“ America has carried you through former wars, and will carry you to your death if you don't take things in time. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony ; but forty thousand German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen ; they may ravage ; they cannot conquer. But you *will* conquer, you say ! Why, what would you conquer ? The map of America. I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject (looking at Lord *Amherst*.) What will you do out of the protection of your fleet ? In the winter, if together, they are starved ; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises ; I know what ministers throw out ; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. [When Lord Chatham uttered this ominous speech, *Burgoyne's army* was embarking for America. I remember that new maps of its route, just from the press, were as plenty in London, in the hands of

* The British historians generally pass over in silence this fact so honorable to America, particularly to New England, and more particularly to Boston.

American refugees, as pamphlets. They talked of little else than driving all before them triumphantly from the Lakes to Boston. But, ere the equinoctial season was passed, that well-appointed army laid down their arms at *Saratoga*, and surrendered to the American yeomanry !]

“ If ministers are founded,” continues Lord Chatham, “ in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left ; the point of honor is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America at the expense of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced every thing to France ; and England, old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable ; the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon.”

His motion for conciliation was negatived by a very large majority.

Our first intention was to bring to probate the last will and testament of JUNIUS only, as witnessed by his printer, Henry Sampson Woodfall, being those Letters prepared by himself for the press. But we must now include a few others, recognised by him in his private correspondence with Mr. Woodfall,—some without signature and some with,—as *Atticus*, *Valerius*, *Lucius*, *Brutus*, *Domitian*, *Anti-Fox*,—all bearing indubitable marks of the same pen ; while we reject others as too mean in phraseology and epithet to spring from the same tasteful author. JUNIUS saying to his printer, “ You know I do not, nor have I time to give an equal care to them all,” is not a sufficient excuse for the coarseness and leanness of some of the essays scraped together under the head of *Miscellaneous Letters*. When JUNIUS predicted that posterity would read his writings, he could not have meant, that every scrap and excrescence of ill humor, unwisely exhibited to the eye on paper when he was out of conceit with himself and with the city poli-

ticians, instead of being immediately buried, should be left exposed above ground. It is a pity that a scavenger had not followed Dean Swift's remains, before editors and printers scrambled for his *exuviae*; and so of some later writers.

The power of JUNIUS in maintaining his invisibility, in spite of the most prying curiosity when winged with vengeance, borders on the wonderful, considering that Britain had a King at that time remarkable for inquisitiveness, and for paying "*rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbours*," * while he had a double cabinet, over which presided curiosity personified. Yet all combined was, it seems, unable to detect that political Sagittarius, who, fed with lion's marrow, instructed Hercules how to rid the world of its plagues. Still he maintained his sway; none so high but was reached by his arrows, nor so low as to escape his tomahawk; and yet he remained, like the ancient Hercules, visible only by the effects of his labors. Yet our modern Hero differed from the heathen, seeing he aimed not always to pierce the vitals, but to heal and restore. Hence this salutiferous reformer fingered every sore, probed deep every ulcer through all its sinuosities, and exposed to view each livid spot of mortification in the body politic, without appearing affected by the contortions, wry faces, or agony of the patient. It is neither just nor generous to consider JUNIUS, as many do, a malignant, supernal archer, shooting barbed arrows from impenetrable coverts, more like the demon of destruction than a skilful political surgeon, whose object was to save by "infusing a portion of new health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities," or to restore it to its pristine vigor, as at the revolution in 1688.

To rouse up an indolent and sickly people to a sense of their condition, and to induce them to make use of proffered remedies, required the wisdom of a sage and the nice hand of a master. In some countries and periods of the world, before printing gave wings to literature, Prophets and Apostles were

* Earl Waldegrave, Governor to George the Third, when Prince of Wales.

sent to reclaim backsliding kings and a perverse people. But the denunciations of the one, and the exhortations of the other, were confined to narrow bounds, circumscribed to little more than the compass of the human voice ; whereas now the *Press*, under the guardianship of Liberty, writes the fearful denunciations on the interior of palaces and castles, and its triumph has never been so great as when that most potent engine was worked by the hand of an invisible agent. The histories of honorable deceptions, called stratagems of war, from Hannibal to Washington, from Washington to Napoleon, prove, that they depended altogether on the superior genius of the commander. Infinite as the means of deception are, in holding up one thing while intending another, the object is security and efficacy. Stratagems in war are for an hour, a day, and rarely for months ; but JUNIUS attacked the highest and most powerful characters in the realm, the sacred institutions of the law, and the law-makers, under a *mask*, and within the circle of a single city, during the long space of three years, when none, nor all, could strip him of his visor, nor even trace the footsteps of the letter-carrier from the writer's dwelling to the printer's, and from the printer back again to the study of the writer. My surprise increases at every review of this subject. We have nothing like it in history. The reverend Doctor *Gauden* deceived the British public in his *Icon Basilike*, by telling an absolute falsehood ; yet Charles the Second rewarded him with a mitre, for imposing on the world the counterfeit lucubrations of his own brain for the pious effusions of his unhappy father.

Besides the composition, I have ever considered the *transcription* and *transmission* of the Letters, for three years, without detection, to be the most mysterious and puzzling circumstances in the history of the ghost of JUNIUS *Brutus*. None but a man of the first-rate powers and first-rate *means* could have carried his design, as JUNIUS did, into complete effect.

We have fixed the authorship of the Letters on the *Earl of CHATHAM*, and have rendered it highly probable by the parallel passages from his speeches, laid side by side with corre-

sponding passages from the Letters. We have shown the mutual attachment between Chatham and Camden, as well as between JUNIUS and this nobleman, by recording the unmingled approbation of him by both. We have recalled to the reader's mind the consimilarity of sentiment, expressed by JUNIUS and by Lord Chatham, as to the great learning and extraordinary abilities of Lord Mansfield ; and we have pointed out the same degree of repulsion in both. We have declared, that no public character had such strong reasons for indignation and resentment towards the Duke of Bedford as had Lord Chatham ; for when the Duke signed the articles of the peace, he put a match to the combustibles, that had been three years collecting around the monument which Fame had erected to Pitt's glory. We have exposed the chief reasons of the contempt of JUNIUS for that *sham* minister, the Duke of Grafton, but we do not believe he was so bad, or so weak a man, as he is represented by that violent writer.

We ask the reader's attention to the anecdotes of *General Lord Amherst*,* and request him to call to mind the history of the wars and conquests in America from 1758 to 1761, and the narrative of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his government of Virginia, together with the creation of a *third* Secretary of State, specially made for the subjugation of America. Does not this concatenation of facts corroborate, if not substantiate our idea, and identify JUNIUS with Chatham ?

Let us return to our rallying point, and see if our great Statesman had qualities and faculties needful for such a delicate task as writing audacious and terrific truths on the interior walls of palaces. The *North Briton* says of him, "The sight of *Pitt's* mind was infinite. His schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which those

* The present Earl, son of the General, is named *William Pitt Amherst*.

schemes were accomplished ;—always seasonable and always adequate.” *

He had been, from early life, a very active member of the House of Commons, Paymaster-general, and Secretary of State. When Prime Minister he retained the Secretaryship, and, what was very extraordinary indeed, he was in effect, and to all purposes, the *Board of Admiralty* within himself; having stipulated with George the Second, that he should engross the correspondence with the officers of the fleet abroad and at home, which heretofore appertained to the board at large, and that his orders and instructions should be signed by the Lords of the Admiralty without their knowing what they signed. Napoleon himself had hardly more unfettered power. Hence it was, that promptness, nay, rapidity, marked all his measures. Quick and fiery in his temper, he was yet patient when he directed his mind to investigation; and then he adopted the calm and deliberate steps of the mathematician in search of truth, which, when found, he proclaimed in the thunders of oratory, and dazzling flashes of elocution. Thus he stood before the collective nation an object of the highest respect, and of dread to its enemies. It is to this extraordinary man we attribute the authorship of the Letters of JUNIUS,—a man, of whom Earl Waldegrave (who did not love him) says, “He has the finest genius, improved by study, and all the ornamental part of classical learning. He has a peculiar clearness and facility of expression; and has an eye as significant as his words. He is not always a fair or conclusive reasoner, but commands the passions with sovereign authority; and to inflame or captivate a popular assembly is a consummate orator. He has courage of every sort, cool or impetuous, active or deliberate. At present he is the guide and champion of the people. He is imperious, violent, and implacable; impatient even of the slightest contradiction; and, under the mask of patriotism, has the despotic spirit of a tyrant.

* The *North Briton* was written in Numbers, like the *Spectator*, by various hands.

"However, though his political sins are black and dangerous, his private character is irreproachable; he is incapable of a treacherous or ungenerous action; and in the common offices of life is justly esteemed a man of veracity and a man of honor.

"He mixes little in company, confining his society to a small juncture of his relations, with a few obsequious friends, who consult him as an oracle, admire his superior understanding, and never presume to have an opinion of their own.*

"This separation from the world is not entirely owing to pride, or an unsociable temper; as it proceeds partly from bad health and a weak constitution. But he may find it an impassable barrier in the road of ambition; for though the mob can sometimes raise a minister, he must be supported by persons of higher rank, who may be mean enough in some particulars, yet will not be the patient followers of any man who despises their homage and avoids their solicitations. Besides, it is a common observation, that men of plain sense and cool resolution have more useful talents, and are better qualified for public business, than the man of the finest parts, who wants temper, judgment, and the knowledge of mankind. Even parliamentary abilities may be too highly rated; for between the man of eloquence and the sagacious statesman there is a wide interval."

We set a high value on this character of Mr. Pitt written by a contemporary, no less eminent than *Earl Waldegrave*, whose grandmother was daughter of *James the Second*; an accomplished scholar and philosopher; and selected by *George the Second* to be governor of his grandson, afterwards *George the Third*. He was averse to the post, and said to the aged monarch, "*Sire, I am too young to govern, and too old to be governed.*" But he was constrained to submit; and found, as he feared, that he could not acquire the confidence of his *pupil* or of his *pupil's mother*.

* Except his sister, *Mrs. Anne Pitt*.

Notwithstanding the slight exceptions scattered here and there in the character of Mr. Pitt, Lord Waldegrave adds what would seem to sweep them all away. "From a cornet of horse, then his only subsistence, in less than twenty years he has raised himself to be first minister, and *the most powerful subject in this country.*" "The masterly characteristics by Lord Waldegrave were manifestly intended," says his biographer, "for posterity;" and his admirable *Memoirs* look like it.*

Such a man was *Lord CHATHAM* in the opinion of friends and foes. Yet ambidextrous as he was, he could never have written, and prepared for the press, the Letters in question, without the aid and assistance of some eye, brain, and hand, beside his own. It is *impossible* he could have effected the task *alone*. Help he must have had; confidence he must have *secured*. But of *what sort*? The help could not have been derived from *hired* people; from any pensioned scribe, who might ever be detached from his employer by disgust, harsh treatment, or neglect. I cannot admit for a moment, that his amanuensis could be bound to absolute secrecy, and *such* a secret too, by any chain, either iron or gold. That is but pseudo-confidence which can be bought; for whatever can be bought may be sold. Burke's amanuensis betrayed him. JUNIUS's never. His must have been that safe and faithful scribe to be found only in a faithful *bosom friend*,—that pearl of great price, so rare and so valuable. The mere surmise will lead us to a nearer view of the personage so often mentioned. Starting with this *potulatum* of a *bosom friend*, with caution and diffidence we approach the subject; yet not without a hope and firm belief, that we shall catch a glimpse of that great and substantial blessing.

* Earl Waldegrave died of small-pox in March, 1763. Without the polish or servile manners of a court, this nobleman was greatly esteemed for his probity, benevolence, and literary acquirements. The Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second, said, that, to his knowledge, death itself would have been more welcome to Lord Waldegrave, than any union with Lord Bute or Mr. Fox. He rejected all offers of employment under the young King.

The indispensably requisite amanuensis, in the delicate business before us,—the partner in the *vital* secret, could have been none else than another self; and may, if rightly considered, verify the assertion of JUNIUS, when he said, “*I am the sole depository of my own secret.*” Indeed it is clear, that he meant it should be understood in a qualified sense, from what immediately precedes it, viz. “If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a *narrow circle.*” The term itself has here a plural meaning, intimating, what could not be otherwise, that there were some ones to whom the secret was known. This idea is confirmed by a trifling anecdote. An idle letter (to *Junia*), written in a spirit of levity, according not altogether with the serious and dignified character of JUNIUS, he wished therefore to obliterate; and he writes to Mr. Woodfall, “It was written against my own opinion. The truth is, *there are people about me, whom I wish not to contradict, and who would rather see JUNIUS in the papers, ever so improperly, than not at all.*”

The important question is, who was the faithful bosom friend, or the confidential friends, forming that *narrow circle*? Throughout this goodly and wondrous frame of nature, of which we ourselves make a part, every generating thing is sent forth in *pairs*. No one thing stands alone. There is indeed unity, but *oneness* has no existence this side the eternal world. I leave to the feeling and sagacity of each reader, whether the first impression on his or her mind, was not that the persons about JUNIUS, whom he wished not to contradict, were *WOMEN*; assuming, as we do, that Chatham was the man. Name or imagine the mortal man, if you can, whom William Pitt would hesitate to contradict, if he urged any thing against *his* opinion. Inflexible in his own will, and stubborn as a rock with men, that nobleman was, from all accounts, a pliant domestic man. But who could bend the Statesman? We shall relate what we have learned concerning him, without lipping a word of impartiality or partiality, or claiming an exemption from prejudice, which no reader of common sense would believe, seeing every hypothesis is stuck pretty full of both.

We have said that Mr. Pitt married the sister of Richard Grenville, *Earl Temple*. She is spoken of as a lady of exemplary goodness and cultivated talents. We judge of her by what has flowed from her own pen, and from circumstantial. The editor of the *Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, published by Almon, addressed a letter to her as the *Dowager Countess of Chatham*, in 1791, when she was far advanced in life, and accompanied it with the volumes. She says in answer, "I cannot delay desiring you to accept of my sincere thanks for this mark of your attention. The sentiments expressed by you of the abilities and virtues of my late dear Lord, are a sort of assurance to me, that I shall find his character and conduct painted in those colors that suit the dignity and wisdom that belonged to them." In the same letter she utters her deep regret at the loss experienced by herself, her country, her family, and friends. If this should be considered as the formal expression of a bereaved widow, mere common-place language, we have a small family-picture by her own hand, clear from any thing of the kind. It is a letter to Dr. Addington, their family-physician and particular friend, and has special reference to an anecdote which excited great public attention in that day (1778.) It related to an overture, said to have been made from the *Earl of Bute* to the *Earl of Chatham*, by the agency of Sir James Wright, and through *Dr. Addington*,* who was the family-physician to all three, and whose mind and time were much given to politics. The negotiation, if a loose, informal, out-of-joint conversation could merit that name, had for its ultimate object the return of Lord Chatham, then in a miserable state of health, to the service of his country as Prime Minister, to remedy, if possible, the lamentable condition of the kingdom, the efforts of which were unavailing, and its arms unsuccessful, in every quarter of the globe. Among other heart-sinking calamities was the disaster of General Burgoyne's army, who, after very hard fighting and

* Father of the Prime Minister of that name.

repeated defeats, were compelled to lay down their arms and surrender to the American militia. Upon this followed the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, and our increasing current of success in all our Southern States ; which finally led to the capture of a *second* British army under the command of *Earl Cornwallis*, and that strong flood of feeling which followed after these events in England and in America.

In this deplorable situation of affairs, as it regarded Britain, it was a prevalent opinion, that none but Lord Chatham could save the kingdom from utter ruin. Whatever mortification may pretend, there was something like a negotiation contemplated, and more than contemplated.* The sick Lord Chatham, disgusted with a half-way, gossiping piece of business, tried to put an end to it by the following note to Dr. Addington.

“ *Hayes, February 7th, [1778.]*

“ The conversations, which a certain gentleman [Sir James Wright] has found means to have with you, are, on his part, of a nature too insidious, and to my feelings too offensive, to be continued, or *unrejected*. What can this officious emissary mean by all the nonsense he has, at times, thrown out to you ? The next attempt he makes to surprise friendly integrity by courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron [*Lord Bute*] and your village friend differ in this ;—one has brought the King and Kingdom to ruin ; the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.”

This note was followed by a letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington, in such high strains of respect and deference for Lord Chatham, as seems to have disarmed the noble sufferer of anger ; as appears by the following letter from LADY CHATHAM to Dr. Addington. This is the small *family*-

* The author was, at that period and two years previous, a member of Dr. Fothergill's family.

picture ; and all that we have here said of Lord Bute, Dr. Addington, and Sir James Wright, is but the frame of it.

FROM LADY CHATHAM to *Dr. Addington*.

"I write, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bed-side, who has had much pain all last night from gout in his left hand and wrist. The pulse indicates more pain to come.

"He desires me to express for him the true sense he has of all your very friendly attentions in this very delicate and critical situation.

"The gentleman's letter, which you transmit, is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit. At the same time it is impossible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much good sense and candor, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and Kingdom. Those dangers are *indeed extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope.

"*Hayes, quarter before one, February 9th, 1778.*" *

As it is to our purpose to speak of this noble Lady, let us, with respectful steps, approach the dwelling of the supposed author of the famous Letters. This hallowed retreat is situated in the pleasant village of *Hayes*, sixteen miles from London, where shone, in dignified retirement, the partner of the great Statesman's honors, cares, and pains.† Of this excellent woman the Rev. F. Thackeray says, "She possessed a very powerful understanding, combined with great feminine delicacy. The ease and spirit with which her Ladyship wrote, rendered her letters very delightful to her friends, and enabled her to assist Lord Chatham, during his attendance in Parlia-

* Lord Chatham died three months after.

† From a private letter to Woodfall, March 5, 1772, we infer, that JUNIUS resided in the country.

ment, or his attacks of the gout, in answering many of his correspondents."

Such domestic aids in the most secret and delicate transactions of a minister's life, are less rare in Europe than here, where, as yet, our government has few or no secrets ; and diplomacy itself but little occasion for exercising those subtle powers of intrigue, stratagem, and honorable artifice, common in most countries.

We have a delightful picture of the amiable influence of the female character on the life and conduct of a public man, brought down to us through Roman history. It has been judiciously re-touched by the Spectator (See No. 525.), and relates to *Pliny*, who is there described as one of the finest gentlemen and politest writers of the age in which he lived. It is contained in a letter to *Hispulla*, his wife's aunt, who brought her up. *Pliny*, speaking of his wife, says, "I am sure it will be a pleasure to you to hear that she proves worthy of her father, worthy of you, and of your and her ancestors. Her ingenuity is admirable ; her frugality extraordinary. She loves me, the surest pledge of her virtue ; and adds to this a wonderful disposition to learning, which she has acquired from her affection to me. She reads my writings, studies them, and even gets them by heart. You'd smile to see the concern she is in when I have a cause to plead ; and the joy she shows when it is over. She finds means to have the first news brought her of the success I meet with in court,—how I am heard, and what decree is made. If I recite any thing in public, she cannot refrain from placing herself privately in some corner to hear, where, with the utmost delight, she feasts upon my applause. Sometimes she sings my verses, and accompanies them with the lute, without any master, except love, the best of instructors. From these instances, I take the most certain omens of our perpetual and increasing happiness, since her affection is not founded on my youth and person, which must gradually decay ; but she is in love with the immortal part of me,—my glory and reputation. Nor in-

deed could less be expected from one who had the happiness to receive her education from you, who, in your house, was accustomed to every thing that was virtuous and decent, and even began to love me by your recommendation. For, as you had always the greatest respect for my mother, you were pleased, from my infancy, to form me, to commend me, and kindly to presage I should be one day what my wife fancies I am. Accept, therefore, our united thanks; mine, that you have bestowed her on me; and hers, that you have given me to her, as a mutual grant of joy and felicity."

Here is a beautiful family-picture, painted about eighty years after the birth of Christ, by a contemporary of *Tacitus*, a subject of *Trajan*, and a particular pupil of *Quintilian*,—the all accomplished *Pliny*; and it may be justly admired as a faithful delineation of friendship, tenderness, true love, and constancy.

What forbids our transferring this charming domestic scene to the quiet habitation of Lord and Lady Chatham at Hayes? and with felicitous circumstantialia, which neither Roman nor Grecian ever enjoyed?

Lord Chatham, besides an accomplished spouse, was blessed with a sister, *Mrs. Anne Pitt*,* who is represented by Mr. Burke as a lady of extraordinary powers of mind, a very keen disputant even with her brother, and remarkable for richness and variety of eloquence in discourse, resembling that for which he was famous, and to a degree even to astonish the modern *Cicero*, who expressed his regret that he had not committed to paper some striking specimens of her brilliancy.† Common as exaggeration is in giving characters, we have no suspicion of it here, seeing the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke was equally enraptured with the mental powers of Anne Pitt. His

* *Mrs. Anne Pitt* died unmarried, in 1789. In England they call single women, of an advanced age, *Mrs.*, and not *Miss*, as we do in America. We apply that girlish epithet to a maiden lady of ninety or a hundred.

† See Prior's Life of Burke.

Lordship had the highest opinion of the genius of Mr. Pitt as a man, and of his sister as a woman. The former he termed *sublimity* Pitt, and the latter *divinity* Pitt. Horace Walpole says, in a letter to the Earl of Hertford in April, 1765, "Mr. Caraman is agreeable, informed, and intelligent. He supped at your brother's t'other night, after being at Mrs. Anne Pitt's. As the first curiosity of foreigners is to see Mr. Pitt, and as that curiosity is one of the most difficult points in the world to gratify, he asked me if Mr. Pitt was like his sister. I told him, *Qu'ils se ressembloient comme deux gouttes de feu.*"

This highly gifted lady is mentioned by Lord Chesterfield, who says to his son, "The fine Mrs. Pitt, who, it seems, saw you often at Paris, speaking of you the other day, said in French, * * * * *. Whether it is that you did not pay the homage due to her beauty, or that it did not strike you as it does others, I cannot determine; but I hope she had some other reason than truth for saying it. I will suppose that you did not care a pin for her; but, however, she surely deserved a degree of propitiatory adoration from you, which I am afraid you neglected."

Mrs. Anne Pitt was maid of honor to Queen Caroline, and privy-purse to the Princess Dowager of Wales. She held these courtly stations when her brother was, at one and the same time, Secretary of State and Prime Minister to King George the Second, and afterwards under his grandson George the Third.

As the historian is at three thousand miles' distance from the great city of the King, may he not be allowed to *guess*, that the Pitt family had the facility of knowing the domestic scenes of the royal family almost as well as their own, and the more so from the publicity of a royal palace compared with that of subjects.* JUNIUS mentions the variations of the

* The following paragraph appeared in Woodfall's paper, Dec. 6, 1771. "We have the pleasure to assure the public, from the most undoubted authority, that the repeated accounts of her Royal Highness, the Princess Dowager of Wales, being very ill, and her life in great dan-

King's temper and consequent diet, and appears to know every thing concerning him.

If we renounce the idea of that sort of domestic aid and assistance here suggested, we are aground,—unable to stir an inch; nay, we are confounded, deeming it an impossibility, or next to it, that an insulated individual, separated, through fear of detection, from every one else, should be able to compose, reply, and rejoin, as JUNIUS did, with the necessary copying and every needful preparation for the press, with the very nice business of sure and safe transmission, without the kind of help we have suggested. With it all, the difficulty is great, very great, considering the power of those whom JUNIUS had the audacity to attack. That the writer should be able to preserve an uninterrupted chain of epistles of such a peculiar character, and even advertise, that such and such letters to Lord Mansfield should appear on a particular day, and be able to keep his promise undetected, is a surprising thing on any hypothesis, and absolutely wonderful upon any hypothesis but the one we have advanced. It is conceivable that a lonely individual might write and stick up an epigram or lampoon every week for years, in different parts of an immense city, without an accomplice; but not a consecutive series of libellous essays, attacking the sovereign, the head of the judiciary, the army, very powerful individuals, and, amidst threats, setting at defiance the ability of them all to pull off his mask, or to draw him from his dark recess into light and punishment. Such a correspondence between the writer and a distant printer could not have been carried on in the city of Paris, where the police resembles the discipline of a camp; whereas London had no police until Mr. Colquhoun led the way to something like one. London, before that period, was

ger, are entirely false." JUNIUS thereupon says, at the close of a letter to the Printer, four days after; "What do you mean by affirming that the *Dowager* is better? *I tell you that she suckles toads from morning till night.*" [She died four weeks after of a shocking cancer in the breast, having used the quack-remedy here mentioned.]

governed pretty much like our cities in America by the manners of the people. Allowing for this freedom from *espionage*, the *safe* transmission of the letters betokens a management beyond a common character. "The difficulty of corresponding," says JUNIUS to Woodfall, "arises from *situation* and necessity, to which we must submit. Your letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it." (March 3 and 5, 1772.) We attribute the complete success, in all these difficulties, to a man with a mind, whose sight was infinite, whose schemes were always seasonable and always adequate, and whose power of secrecy was deemed wonderful, while he penetrated the secrets of others, from the monarch, with his floating, morbid humors, to his page; and from the wretched Princess Dowager with her odious quack remedy to the varied cookery of her perturbed son. The man, to whom we attribute the Letters, was singular and remarkable for his knowledge of *minutiae*, while "his august mind and manner overawed majesty." It was well known, that George the Secondnd felt royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him in order to be relieved from his superiority.th This could not be concealed from Mr. Pitt, who, after being called to the helm a second time, preserved that uniform and undeviating course of etiquette, which gained the heart of the aged Hanoverian, and preserved it to the last hour of his life. Something of the same overshadowing influence was felt by the more familiar and gentleman-like George the Third. In the memorable audience at the Queen's palace in 1763, which lasted three hours, it was generally supposed, that the great master of eloquence overpowered the judgment of the King, and led it captive; * for,

shend.

* Dr. Franklin has remarked, that, in his conversations with Lord Chatham on the subject of his plan for settling the troubles in America, he was so full and diffuse, that he could not interrupt him with a remark, nor go through half of his own memorandums. He adds, "He is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him, that I found little inclination to interrupt him." Such is the power of a superior mind sublimed by eloquence.

at a second audience, two days after, the King retraced his steps, and excused himself from following the advice given, with saying, that his word was passed, and his honor concerned,—a fresh evidence of that *secret influence* complained of in the earliest part of the reign of that unhappy monarch.

If we weigh what has been said, to whom but to this great Statesman, consummate orator, and remarkably gifted man, can we attribute the golden pages of JUNIUS?—for such they truly are compared with any prose writings in our language. Unique as was the manner, doctrine, style, and temper of Lord Chatham, yet he resembles the man behind the curtain, more than any other character hitherto mentioned as the supposed author of the Letters; and the parallel passages, cited from the speeches of the one and the writings of the other, seem to put it beyond doubt.

Lord Chatham was a domestic man, made so by his arthritic infirmities; so was *Cardinal Richelieu*. Both were abstracted from the fashionable world. Both discarded ceremonial levees, dinners, and suppers,—those moths of time, health, and study. Both were great ministers; both brilliant in literature. Thus situated and circumstanced, and withdrawn from Parliament, who so likely to give vent to his mixed feelings, personal and patriotic, and who more favorably situated for it, than Lord Chatham? No one will suppose me to insinuate, that he needed any one to help him think, or to express what he thought. We only insist, that, crippled and enfeebled, it was his happy lot to be blest with two very able amanuenses,—one of them another self, a pearl of great price,—and the other, his brilliant sister, a second jewel in his *Urim* and *Thummim*. From such a *pectorale* sparks of light, truth, and intelligence must have been elicited, in their solemn retirement, amid sober reflections on the varied scenes of their past honorable lives. “It is gratifying to reflect,” says the biographer of Chatham,* “that he, who had devoted his life to the severest application

* Thackeray.

in the public cause, should have had so accomplished and interesting a family, to soothe his declining years, and to exhilarate his hours of relaxation. Few men were able to enjoy these blessings with a juster sense of their value. Ambition," says he, "may have indurated some feelings of his heart in his intercourse with the political world ; but his conduct, in every domestic relation, was, throughout his life, most exemplary and delightful."

We submit, with peculiar pleasure, this subject of aid from the female head, heart, and hand, of the *indoor* circle of post-meridian felicity, to the feelings and judgment of the happy in this favored land, with only one remark, viz. If daughters be educated in literature equally with sons, they write as well, and often better, inasmuch as they perceive quicker and discriminate more nicely, have a more delicate taste, and a more correct judgment respecting the consistency and harmony of things in social life. With more patience than men, they are better disposed to that refinement of humanity, defined complacency, or an inclination that busies itself in pleasing anticipations, especially where there is the familiarity of intimacy. They generally feel a deeper interest, a greater ambition in aiding their male connexions, than men feel towards one another, especially in literary matters, in which many of them are keen critics and admirable polishers, after the hammering, rasping, and filing of a stronger masculine hand. The women of France seem to have put all competition at defiance ; not but what England, Switzerland, and America have jewels of the same kind, but *occasion* has too rarely produced them to view.

We reiterate, perhaps to tediousness, that the transcription of the Letters of JUNIUS could never have been made by the hand of a *hireling*, but by the hand of affection, by one embarked in the same frail vessel, upon a deep and boundless ocean with a threatening sky, where one fate was to befall both. Conceive, thoughtful reader, a great man of Lord Chatham's matchless genius, rare acquirements, and unique

style of eloquence, that exhausted the richness of our language, sore with keen excitement from extreme ill usage, working up the bullion of his rich mind to a high degree of perfection as it regards form, and assisted by "*people about him whom he would wish not to contradict*," for the highest possible polish.

- We need not suppose such aids took the pen of original composition, but to converse, debate, surmise, suggest, and criticize, and by these and other kindred means, call forth the strong and various powers of *the great original himself*. It is probable, nay, it is certain, that through co-operating intellects, and by similar means, came forth into mimic life, the greatest wonders of Grecian sculpture. We repeat it,—it is the decree of Heaven, and the undeviating order of nature, that no one thing originates and proceeds *alone*.

JUNIUS complained sorely, that no one assisted him in the newspapers, blinding himself with poring over papers for authorities,—that he was left to do every thing. Hence he was compelled to make his *left* hand aid his right under the signature of *PHILO-Junius*; and, before that, under the signature of *Domitian, Valerius, Brutus, Lucius, and Atticus*, to prepare the way for the entrance on the stage of JUNIUS *himself*.

The sort of domestic aid and domestic interest in the labors of a public man is not so rare as many imagine. In that pious forgery, entitled *Icon Basilike*, palmed on the world as the production of Charles the First in his deepest troubles, the real author, Dr. Gauden, could not carry on the deception without domestic help. That supererogant divine, not contented with the self-satisfaction of increasing vastly the worshippers of "the royal martyr," and enjoying disinterested benevolence, very eagerly sought a meaner reward on the restoration of the Second Charles, by declaring that that very popular book, however pious the language, was given to an admiring public by "a lying spirit." To obtain pay for it, Dr. Gauden writes to the Secretary of State, *Sir Edward Nicholas*, thus: "The book and the figure were wholly and only my invention, making, and design, in order to

vindicate the king's wisdom, honor, and piety. *My wife, indeed, was conscious of it; and had a hand in disguising the letters of that copy which I sent to the King in the Isle of Wight, by favor of the Marquis of Hertford.*" *

Here *the lying spirit*, though immortal,† could not prevail without domestic help. *Milton* exposed the deception; but it was not *the fashion of the day* to regard the opinion of a republican. Lord Clarendon betrayed his knowledge of the fraud, by a private letter to *Bishop* Gauden upon the *Icon Basilike*, and by his total silence on the subject in his history of "the nineteen years' rebellion." ‡

In order to effect certain patriotic purposes through Alderman Sawbridge, JUNIUS wrote several *private* letters to Mr. Wilkes; two of considerable length, urging this celebrated man to a more magnanimous line of conduct towards the worthy Alderman, than Wilkes seemed capable of. *Mr. Charles Butler* once sat down with his friend Wilkes to examine, with great and lawyer-like attention, those epistles, with a view of tracing the author of them. Mr. Butler, in his pleasant Reminiscences, says, that the same hand-writing marks all of them, except the Letter to the King, and it is like that which well-educated ladies wrote about the beginning of the century [written 1780]; viz. a large open hand, regular, approaching to the Italian; that Mr. Wilkes had a card of invitation to dinner from old *Lady Temple*, written in her own hand; and on comparing it with JUNIUS's Letters, they thought there was some resemblance between them. The Letter to the King was in a hand-writing perfectly different; a very regular, staid hand, with no difference between the hair-stroke and the body of the letters [as if first written with a lead-pencil, and traced over with ink.] He says that

* Edinburgh Review for June, 1826. Art. *Icon Basilike*.

† "On eagle's wings immortal scandals fly."—DRYDEN.

‡ Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, quotes from the *Icon Basilike* as the words of *King Charles*; and Dr. Webster, perpetuates the deception in his more valuable Dictionary.

the lines of the letters were very even ; with very few blots, erasures, or marks of hurry. Mr. Butler adds, "that the letters, generally, if not always, were sent in an envelope (which was then by no means general as it now is), and in the folding up and the direction of the letter, we thought we could see marks of the writer's habit of folding and directing official letters." In a little volume of letters, written by the Earl of Chatham to his nephew Lord Camelford, a youth at College, one dated from the pay-office, April 15, 1755, concludes thus. "Inclose your letters in *a cover* ; it is more polite." From all which we learn, that the use of an envelope, though rare at that day, was habitual with Lord *Chatham* and with JUNIUS. Lawyers know the weight of circumstantial evidence. Mr. Wilkes said, that the manner in which JUNIUS corrected the printed sheets showed, that he was accustomed to such an employment, and had a familiar use of the marks of printers in correcting proof-sheets.

"*We thought,*" says Mr. Butler, "*his high-wrought panegyric of Lord Chatham was IRONICAL.*" So that it never came into their heads as into ours, that his Lordship wrote it himself.

We understand that Robert Wood, Esq., a gentleman well known for his learned and valuable publications, was, for a long series of years, *private* secretary to Mr. Pitt, and afterwards official under-secretary while Lord Chatham was in the government. Dr. Franklin mentions the same gentleman in his *Memoirs*, and says, "When I came to England in 1757, I made several attempts to be introduced to Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, at that time first minister, on account of my *Pennsylvania* business, but without success. He was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of great moment. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a kind of non-apparent and unacknowledged communication through Mr. Potter and *Mr. Wood*, his secretaries, who seemed to cultivate an acquaintance with me by their civilities ; and drew from me what information I could give relative to the Ameri-

can war, with my sentiments, occasionally, on measures that were proposed or advised by others; which gave me the opportunity of recommending and *enforcing* the utility of *conquering CANADA*. [Between 1757 and 1758.] I afterwards considered Mr. Pitt as inaccessible."

Mr. Butler has an interesting Chapter on the *Letters of JUNIUS*. Near the close of it is this paragraph.

"Mentioning, in one of his letters to Woodfall, the edition, which that gentlemen then projected of his Letters, JUNIUS says, 'When the book is finished, let me have a *set bound in vellum, gilt and lettered, as handsome as you can,—the edges gilt;—let the sheets be well dried before binding.*'"

"Who," says Mr. Butler, "is the fortunate possessor of these two vellum volumes?—The Reminiscent knows as little as the rest of the world,—but thinks it was not unknown to the *founder of a noble house*, to which the public owes an *edition of Homer*, which does the nation honor." Thus far Mr. Butler.

Now who was the editor of this highly extolled edition of *Homer*? He was *Robert Wood*, Lord Chatham's private secretary, just mentioned. Who was the *founder* of a noble house to whom the public is indebted for that learned work? It was the grand nephew of *Lady Chatham*, and places the *vellum volumes*, about where we had long since conjectured they might be found,—in the GRENVILLE FAMILY, a mere sketch of which we have presumed to make and hold up to our readers.

Four years after this was written, there appeared the following article in one of our newspapers, copied from a London paper called "*The Globe*," viz.

"*Five letters are deposited in the archives of the Grenville family at Stowe, which establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, the real author of JUNIUS. This eminent individual was politically connected with Mr. George Grenville, the grandfather of the present Duke of Buckingham, from whom these autograph proofs have descended to the present possessor.*"

The venerable Statesman, nearly allied to the Duke of Buckingham, has requested the discovery should not be published during his life-time. It is, however, confidently asserted, that, in all the controversies relating to these celebrated LETTERS, the author has not been named."

After reaching an age when that *great comfort* of human life, *vanity*, is commonly evaporated, if I have made a discovery by pursuing the road of patient induction, while others have failed in their search by wandering upon a fenceless common, I hope to be allowed the enjoyment of its few remaining drops; for during forty years I have preserved a steady opinion, and often expressed it, that no man could have *felt* and *written* like JUNIUS, save *William Pitt, Earl of CHATHAM*. He was acquainted with the deep disorder in the state of Britain; and to cure it, like a skilful physician, used only *HERCULEAN remedies*.

ENGLISHMEN! erect a Temple to your MAGNUS APOLLO! lest we Americans get the start of you!

On the seventh of April, 1778, Lord Chatham, in a very feeble state, of health was led into the House of Peers by his son *William*, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. He was dressed in a rich suit of black velvet, and covered up to his knees in flannel. He looked like a dying man, yet never was seen a figure of more dignity.* He appeared like a being of superior species. The Lords stood up, and made a lane for him to pass to his seat, whilst, with a gracefulness of deportment, for which he was so eminently distinguished, he bowed to them as he proceeded. Having taken his seat, he listened to the speech of the Duke of Richmond with the most profound attention. The Duke, at the close of the grand committee of inquiry, which sat during the greater part of the session, moved an address to the throne, recapitulating the expenses, misconduct, and losses of the war; intreating the Sov-

* See Thackeray, and Seward's Anecdotes.

ereign to dismiss his ministers ; advising him to withdraw all his forces by sea and land from the revolted provinces, and to adopt amicable means only to recover their friendship, at least, if not their allegiance. This question of independence was enough to kindle all Lord Chatham's English enthusiasm.

After Lord Weymouth had spoken against the address, **LORD CHATHAM** rose with slowness and difficulty from his seat, leaning on his crutches, and supported by his two relations. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards Heaven, and said "*I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day, to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which is so deeply impressed on my mind. I am old and infirm,—have one foot,—more than one foot,—in the grave. I have risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country,—perhaps never again to speak in this House !*"

The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House were here most affecting ; had any one dropped a handkerchief, the noise would have been heard.

At first, Lord Chatham spoke in that low and feeble tone which is characteristic of severe indisposition ; but as he grew warm, his voice rose, and became as harmonious as ever ; oratorical and affecting, perhaps more so than at any former period. He recounted the whole history of the American war, the measures to which he had objected, and all the evil consequences which he had foretold ; adding, at the end of every period, "*And so it proved.*"

In one part of his speech, he ridiculed the apprehension of an invasion, and then recalled the remembrance of former invasions. "A Spanish invasion, a French invasion, a Dutch invasion, many noble Lords must have read in history ; and some Lords (looking sternly at Lord Mansfield,*) may remember a *Scotch* invasion.

* Chatham retained his antipathy towards Mansfield to his last breath !

"I rejoice, my Lords, that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy ! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture ; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. I will first see the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the other rising hopes of the royal family, brought down to the committee, and assent to such an alienation. Where is the man that will dare to advise it ? My Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions ? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest ; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon ? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was ! Shall a people, that, seventeen years ago, was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient, inveterate enemy, 'Take all we have, only give us peace ?' It is impossible !

"I wage war with no man or set of men. I wish for none of their employments ; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error ; or who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honor, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation ? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one effort ; and if we must fall, let us fall like men ! "

In the course of his speech in reply to Lord Chatham, the *Duke* of RICHMOND said, that "he did not doubt but the name of the EARL of CHATHAM (he begged to apologize for mentioning his Lordship by name) would rouse the spirit of the nation. But that name, great and mighty as it was, could not gain victories without an army, without a navy, and without money. If a large fleet of French ships met a few of ours, did the noble Earl think, that merely telling them that the Earl of Chatham had the conduct of public affairs, would prevent us from being beaten? If the fleet passed our ships, and the French effected an invasion, did the noble Earl imagine, that merely telling the invaders that Lord Chatham was the minister, and that he had roused the spirit of the nation, would induce them to re-imbark and abandon their purpose?" During this and some other parts of the Duke's clumsy speech, Lord Chatham indicated, in countenance and gesture, symptoms of emotion and disgust. When the Duke of Richmond sat down, Lord Chatham made an eager effort to rise, as if laboring with some great idea, and impatient to give utterance to his feelings. But the body was unable to sustain the energies of the mind. After repeated attempts to retain his erect position, he suddenly pressed his hand to his great heart and fell. He lingered to the eleventh of the month following, when he died at his seat in Hayes.

His firmness of mind was remarkable. On his death-bed he said to his son, who was about to depart for Gibraltar, but was unwilling to leave his father, "*Go, my son, go where your country calls you; let her engross all your attention; spare not a moment, which is due to her service, in weeping over an old man who will soon be no more.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARACTER AND POLICY OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

ALTHOUGH JUNIUS observed proper respect for the Throne, it is manifest that he entertained a personal dislike to the King. This is a delicate subject ; yet we must touch it. The official character of George the Third and the history of the American revolution and independency, are so interwoven, that we cannot separate them, without making an unseemly rent in the web of our narrative. One reign has passed away since that monarch's death, and another has just commenced. This allows us to speak of him with the same freedom as of any crowned head that preceded him.

JUNIUS disdains to disguise his contempt of the Duke of Grafton, his antipathy to Lord Mansfield, and his abhorrence of the characters of the Duke of Bedford and of Lord Barrington ; and though he tries to throw a veil over his dislike of the King, we now and then discover the truth under some corners of it, which sudden gusts of resentment blow aside.

Like JUNIUS and like Lord Chatham, we Americans always maintained a theoretical reverence for the Sovereign, even from the year 1766 to 1776. Then, indeed, what had been, for ten years, dammed up, broke loose and inundated loyalty at once among those in authority, while the people as usual observed no degrees of comparison in their expres-

sions of regal criminality. Adhering conscientiously to their national character, they spoke daggers, but used none.*

It was the political character and conduct of George the Third which gave birth to JUNIUS. Had his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, ascended the throne, the Princess Dowager and her son George would have dwelt in comparative privacy, and neither JUNIUS, nor his harbinger, "The North Briton," would have ever appeared, nor the name of John Wilkes have ever been heard beyond the smoke of his chimney.

The private character of George the Third was almost in every respect unexceptionable. He was correct in *les mœurs*, and distinguished in *les bienséances*; his court was chaste, his queen discreet and remarkably circumspect, and their children rigidly governed as regarded their religious creed, and in the German system of etiquette. There was an easy, gentleman-like demeanor in the King, that hardly ever betrayed a consciousness of his very high station; which is remarkable, as in his national government and political measures and conduct, there was something like an unbending self-sufficiency, and unremitting adherence to maxims of state, partly German and partly Scotch, imbibed at an early period of life, before experience had time to judge of and correct them.

The English people were delighted with the novel circumstance of having a *native-born* King "to go in and out before them;" and the Scotch were greatly pleased at seeing one of their own noblemen the acknowledged favorite of the court, and another at the head of the judiciary. The whole realm appeared to rejoice that they had at length an *Englishman* on the throne, not tied to Hanover by a natural feeling, or to France, Italy, or Germany, by uxoriousness. The public magnified every praiseworthy act in the young monarch, such

* During a period of great excitement and resentment in Boston against Sir *Fran is Barnard*, one of the English Commissioners asked the Governor if he was not afraid to walk the streets and over his farm unarmed and alone. He replied, "Not in the least. *The Americans are not a bloody-minded people.*"

as making the judges independent of the crown, and liberating *a poor Roman Catholic* from a long, rigorous imprisonment *for the crime of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience*. They considered this just and this merciful deed as a sure presage of a wise and glorious reign. The novelty-loving English were enraptured with their affable King ; his levee being such a contrast to that of his grandfather, which had some resemblance to a lion's den. In comparing the beginning of the reign of George the Third with the very sad scenes which attended its latter years, one of the historians of his reign * quotes a passage from *Gray's* "Bard," as applicable to the splendor of its dawn and "its subsequent fatal indiscretions."

"Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows,
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes ;
Youth at the prow, and pleasure at the helm ;
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening prey."

If this were the impression of the wavering public respecting the character of George the Third, some men of superior sagacity differed from them. Lord Camden, then Attorney-General Pratt, said to George the Second's physician, about four months after the intoxication of the coronation was past, "*I see already that this will be a weak and inglorious reign.*" It was occasionally whispered, that the King was very obstinate, and would be influenced by none but his mother and Lord Bute. An opinion prevailed, that this Scotch nobleman suggested political opinions and conduct to the Dowager, and she to her son ; but this was hardly correct. She was the *source* of the baleful influence of which patriotism complained. Bute imbibed *her* opinions and enforced *her* directions. She was undoubtedly a shrewd and knowing woman ; yet Earl Waldegrave, possibly a little blinded by disgust, denies to her superior talents or more than an ordinary understanding, while her polit-

* Belsham.

ical notions were more becoming a Polish or Hungarian nobleman, than the instructress of a British prince. She incessantly inculcated on her son,—“**BE KING**, and be not shackled by the Whigs, as was your grandfather ;” and George never forgot the lesson.

John Nicholls, Esq., a distinguished member of Parliament, and son of Dr. F. Nicholls, physician to George the Second, and author of “*Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs, during the Reign of George the Third*,” after saying that the King was sober, temperate, of good domestic habits, addicted to no vice, and swayed by no passion, adds, “that the whole tenor of his life has justified the impression that he was not a weak man ; but that his objects were little and injudiciously chosen ; and that, so far from his reign being marked by favoritism, he has never appeared to entertain kindness for any minister employed, except for the Earl of Bute ; and that because he was educated by his mother.” She had formed her ideas of sovereign power at the court of her father. In Saxe-Gotha, the Sovereign’s personal wishes and opinions are to be obeyed, and he is his own minister ; in Great Britain, the ‘Sovereign is to choose for his ministers those whom he thinks best qualified to advise measures beneficial to the country. If he does not approve of the measures they recommend, he may remove his ministers and appoint others ; but whatever measures are carried into effect, the advisers ought not only to be responsible, but distinctly known and recognised as the advisers. This is not an opinion which has been theoretically adopted by those who have treated of the English constitution ; it has been explicitly declared in Parliament. It completely negatives the idea of the King being *his own minister*. The sentiment, which the Princess Dowager had most anxiously impressed on the King’s mind was this ; that *he should be his own minister ; that he should vigilantly observe every attempt of his ministers to assume a control over him, and use his endeavours to prevent it*. The Princess Dowager was led to enforce this senti-

ment on the mind of her son, not only from the manner in which she had seen sovereign power exercised in her father's court, but also from the control which she had seen exercised by the *Pelham* party over George the Second. The wish to be *his own minister*, and to exercise his power personally, was the leading feature in George the Third's character through his whole reign. It influenced his domestic as well as his political conduct. There does not appear any interval, in which this sentiment was suspended.

We now clearly understand the remarks of JUNIUS,* when he says, that "Few nations are in the predicament that we are, to have nothing to complain of but the filial virtues of our Sovereign. Charles the First had the same implicit attachment to his spouse."—"In respect to her Royal Highness, I shall deliver my sentiments without any false tenderness or reserve. I consider her not only as the original creating cause of the shameful and deplorable condition of this country, but as a being, whose operation is uniform and permanent, who watches, with a kind of providential malignity, over the work of her hands, to correct, improve, and preserve it. If the strongest appearances may be relied on, this lady has now brought her schemes to perfection. Every office in government is filled with men who are known to be her creatures, or by mere ciphers incapable of resistance. Is it conceivable, that any thing less than a determined plan of drawing the power of the crown into her own hands, could have collected such an administration as the present? Who is Lord North? The son of a poor unknown Earl, who, four years ago, was a needy commissioner of the treasury for the benefit of a subsistence, and who would have accepted a commission of hackney coaches upon the same terms. The politics of Carlton-house, finances picked up in Mr. Grenville's ante-chamber, and the elocution of Demosthenes, endeavouring to speak plain with pebbles in his mouth, form the stuffing of that figure which

* DOMITIAN, January 17, 1771, recognised by JUNIUS.

calls itself *minister*." [What is here said of Lord North is, be sure, *lampoonical*, but not a word impeaching his character as an honorable and able man.] Of the Dowager, JUNIUS furthermore remarks, that, " Gifted as she is, she could hardly fail of success [in preventing war with Spain], if the quarrels of nations bore any resemblance to domestic feuds, or could be conducted upon the same principles. The genius of Queen Elizabeth united the nation, collected the strength of the people, and carried it forward to resistance and victory. When the demon of discord sits at the helm, what have we to expect but distraction and civil war at home, disgrace and infamy abroad ? "

Oliver Cromwell, Frederic of Prussia, and Napoleon Bonaparte were their own ministers, and well they might be ; but for George the Third to undertake, as in 1764, the kingly power *personally*, showed the folly of his German instructress, and the weak judgment of the man. Hence we account for his extreme pertinacity in the attempt to tax these colonies without their consent, after such a profound lawyer as Lord Camden and such a consummate politician as Lord Chatham had solemnly declared, that neither the King nor the Parliament, nor all three together, had a legal RIGHT to do so. The stamp act was undoubtedly the favorite measure of the King, and not of George Grenville, whom he dismissed, because he found him not sufficiently subservient to all his American views ; he discarded the Marquis of Rockingham because he repealed the stamp act, and took into his service, as minister, the more pliant Duke of Grafton, who, it was given out at court, was to act under the guidance of Lord Chatham, but who was actually found willing to leave him and pursue the advice of the *secret, irresponsible cabinet*, in which Mr. Jenkinson, Lord Bute's *quondam* private secretary, had more power than the *ostensible* minister. But when his majesty found that the great lawyer, his most obedient friend, Lord Mansfield, could give him neither clear law nor precedent for taxing an English subject without his consent, he had recourse to craft ;

but the great master of it, Charles Townsend, made but a bungling piece of work in forcing a mixture of *tea* and *painters' colors* down the throat of nauseated America. Then came force with all his terrors,—fire and sword, blood and ashes. The fight-loving Scotchmen shouted for war, and one of them, not satisfied with the usual instruments of it, most loyally invoked *starvation* ! *

Not only the scattered remnants of the old Tory faction gladly rallied to the cause, but the veteran and faithful band of placemen, pensioners, and bribed representatives came smiling in as volunteers. This will surprise no man ; but that a great majority of the clergy of the Episcopal Anglican church should hasten to rally under the banner of a deluded King, busy, vindictive, and blind to consequences, mistaking obstinate inflexibility for dignity, is a matter for surprise and mortification. We could bear unmoved the abuse of Lords Suffolk, Gower, and Sandwich, by returning contempt for contempt ; but to be stigmatized, from the sacred desk, as a herd of fanatics and hypocrites, and called *Puritans* by way of reproach,—a term more hateful, to the high church than infidel or atheist,—was more than surprising ; it was shocking. It was somewhat so, as far as they dared, in this country. The virulent language used at that time against the colonies, at the court-end of London, at Oxford, and Edinburgh, was in the same illiberal, anti-Christian style.† The period referred to was when Burgoyne's fine army was about embarking for America, in the highest flow of spirits and the utmost glee, like a hunting party with the best omens of a fine chase !

) Distrusting my own feelings, on such heart-moving topics, I turn, whenever I can, to the opinions of the wise, great, and impartial, neither British nor American. Can I go much higher than that of *Frederic*, the renowned *King of Prussia*, distinguished among monarchs, as a Hero, Philosopher, and Statesman ?

* Wedderburne, the vilifier of Franklin before the privy council.

† The author was, at that time, in the way of seeing and hearing what he here relates, in England and in Scotland.

“England,” says he, “at this period, had involved herself in a war with her colonies, undertaken in the spirit of despotism, and conducted in that of folly. It was the Scotchman, Bute, who still governed the King, and directed the councils of the kingdom. Like one of those malignant spirits, who are perpetually talked of, and never seen, he enveloped himself in profound darkness, whilst, by means of his secret instruments and emissaries, he moved the whole political machine at his pleasure. His system was that of the ancient *Tories*, who maintained the unlimited power of the Crown to be necessary to the public welfare. Haughty and harsh in his deportment, little solicitous as to the selection of the means which he employed in the accomplishment of his purposes, his obstinacy could be exceeded only by his indiscretion; a civil list of one million scarcely sufficed to gratify the venality of Parliament.

“The English nation, *DEGRADED* by its *SOVEREIGN*, appeared to have no will separate from that of the court. But, as if this was not enough, the minister, *Lord Bute*, engaged the King to attempt an arbitrary taxation of the American colonies, at once to augment his revenues and to *establish a precedent* which might, at a future time, be imitated in Great Britain. The Americans, whom the court had not deigned to corrupt, * opposed themselves openly to these imposts, so contrary to their charters, their customs, and to the liberties which they had enjoyed uninterrupted since their first establishment. A wise government would have hastened to *appease* these growing troubles, but the court of London acted upon other principles. The rigor and violence of their proceedings completed the alienation of the Americans. A Congress was convened at Philadelphia, in which it was determined to shake off the English yoke; and from this time we see Great Britain engaged in a *ruinous* war with her own colonies. France, the perpetual rival of England, saw with pleasure

* They tried to corrupt Samuel Adams and a few others, and succeeded only with *Benedict Arnold*.

these civil commotions, and secretly encouraged the Americans to defend their rights against the despotism which George the Third was desirous to establish, by holding out to them a prospect of future succours." *

We rejoice in being able to adduce the staid opinion of one of the wisest and greatest monarchs of the age upon the conduct of George the Third towards the North American Colonies. Speaking of France, during this quarrel with America, the King of Prussia says, "Strong in her alliance with Spain, and in the assistance thence to be derived, she was watching the moment to fall, like a falcon, upon her prey, and avenge herself upon Great Britain, for the disasters she had suffered during the preceding war. England was, at this time, under the YOKE of the TORIES, engaged in a ruinous contest, which augmented the national debts thirty-six millions of crowns per annum. For the purpose of striking a blow upon her right arm with her left, she exhausted all her resources, and advanced with hasty steps to her decline and fall. Her ministers *accumulated* faults; but of all these *the greatest was* the WAR with AMERICA, from which no possible advantage could result. She had needlessly, and without reason, embroiled herself with all the surrounding powers; and to her own misconduct only could England ascribe that state of desertion and general abandonment in which she now found herself." †

In November, 1777, when a flattering address to the King was under debate, Lord Chatham said, "My Lords, this is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail, cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth."—"The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and sea, from Dunkirk to the Straits—the seas swept by American privateers—our channel trade torn to pieces by them!

* Œuvr. de Frédéric III, Tome VI.

† Œuvr. de Frédéric III, Tome IV. pp. 164, 165.

In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed, where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures; you cannot *subdue* her by your present or by any measures. What then can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth: we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honor of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, *unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means*, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling.

“My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the Constitution itself totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long: let us now stop short: this is the crisis — may be the only crisis, of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if, in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries, and confusion worse confounded.

“Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction?—I did hope, that, instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits and presumptuous imaginations—that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity nor foresight, neither justice nor humanity, to shun these oppressive calamities; since not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from stupefaction, the guardian care of Parliament must interpose.”

In November, 1777, than which no session of Parliament since the Revolution of 1688, teemed with events more awful to England, the King from his throne said,—

“It is a great satisfaction to me that I can have recourse to the wisdom of my Parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our most serious attention. The powers which you have entrusted me with, for the suppression of this revolt, have been faithfully exerted; and I have a just confidence that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by sea and land, will, under *the blessing of DIVINE PROVIDENCE*, be attended with important success: but I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the *obstinacy* of the *rebels* may render expedient; and if I should have occasion to increase them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and public spirit to enable me to make them good.

“I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers of *their pacific dispositions*. My own cannot be doubted.”—“I will steadily pursue the measures in which we are engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which, *with the blessing of God*, I will maintain through the several parts of my dominions: but I shall ever be watchful for an

opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war. And I still hope, that the *deluded* and *unhappy* multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what *they have lost*, and the feelings of what they now suffer, under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will rekindle in their hearts a spirit of loyalty to their sovereign, and of attachment to their mother-country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and support of my Parliament, to accomplish what I shall consider the *greatest happiness of my life*, and the *greatest glory of my reign*, the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to my American colonies." Or, in plain English,—to see AMERICA PROSTRATE at MY FEET. Yes! from thousands of mouths was uttered at that time this insulting maxim—"A repeal of our RIGHT to tax America cannot be thought of till she is *humbled at Lord NORTH's FEET!*" And what was *that time*, to which we refer? It was when Burgoyne's army had, *thirty days before this speech*, laid down their arms, and surrendered to the *deluded* American militia! *

A great majority of the House of Peers voted triumphantly a flattering address—97 to 28—replete with terms of approbation, thanks, and loyal promises. The House of Commons sung to the same tune; Parliament adjourned, and its gratified members, and the no less gratified *King*, enjoyed the festive recess, while the unfortunate Burgoyne, with the remnants of his fine army, passed a sad Christmas on the snow-covered hills now within my sight; and in the same joyous season AMERICA ratified her alliance with France. Previously to the British "*holy-days*" festivity, Lord Chatham said to his com-

* The speech was delivered November 18, 1777. *Burgoyne* surrendered on the 17th of October, preceding. After most of his bravest officers were killed, and nearly half his army, the *rest* laid down their arms, and were marched to this town of *Cambridge*, where they were cantoned, until CONGRESS ordered them to Virginia, where they remained to the time of their embarkation for *England* and for *Germany*.

peers, in a voice of thunder,—“My Lords! this is a ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honor; which calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of majesty from the *delusions* which surround it. The conquest of *English* America is AN IMPOSSIBILITY. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the suffering, perhaps a *total loss* of the northern army.”

Early in the month of December, 1777, intelligence arrived of the TOTAL LOSS of the *northern army*; showing a more calamitous state of things than even the sagacity of Lord Chatham had predicted. The truth could no longer be concealed. Lord North, with deep marks of dejection, and even *tears*, acknowledged the extent of the disaster, and said that, though unfortunate, his intentions were ever just and upright; that he had been, in a manner, *forced into an office*, which he would now willingly and gladly resign, could his resignation facilitate the obtaining that *peace and reconciliation for which he had EVER earnestly wished*. Lord George Germaine bore the mortification with more marks of stoicism, saying, in terms of humiliation, that he should be ever ready to submit his conduct to the judgment of that House. Honest Lord North had been less used to misfortune and disgrace than Minden's hero, and therefore obtained rather more generous pity from the opposition.

When the catastrophe at *Saratoga* was communicated to Parliament, a long and profound silence ensued. Amazement and consternation seemed to pervade the house. At length a strong torrent of invective, with taunts bitter and sarcastic, gushed forth from the leaders of the opposition against all the authors of the calamity, save the PRINCIPAL ONE. They denounced the pride, the *ignorance*, and the incapacity of the planners, counsellors, and ministers of measures which had occasioned more calamity and disgrace to the nation, than had

ever befallen the arms of Britain in her most disastrous war. Such was the feeling in their House of Representatives. It was the same in the House of Lords, but mingled with more signs of bitter resentment from deeper wounds of pride. The people out of doors appeared absolutely confounded.* Not being yet directed what *to think*, they knew not what to say, or how to act. The public for a time, stood idly and stupidly gazing on that portentous meteor which, rolling from the west, blackened all their horizon, and seemed about to burst upon them ! But what were the feelings of the KING ?—the *author* of this calamity and disgrace ! We must gather that from the conduct of “ *his FRIENDS* ;” for suppression and concealment of his feelings was a distinguishing trait in the character of George the Third, and was mistaken for dignity by “ *his friends*,” and perhaps by himself.

Notwithstanding the awful lesson from this side of the Atlantic, the self-deluded sovereign soon signified his resolution to persevere in the war against America. He resolved to try again *the men-market* in Germany. Means were also taken to obtain addresses from the mercantile towns of Liverpool, Manchester, and several less considerable places in England ; and from the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland. These places evinced their feelings by each raising a full regiment for the use of his Majesty. It is remarkable, that while the king could raise only *five* thousand troops by private subscription in England, *ten* thousand were raised in affectionate Scotland. In this extraordinary crisis of their national affairs, the crown contrived to have an unusually long recess of Parliament, so that when it convened, the tide of ministerial influence from its lowest ebb appeared to be rising again ; and when it attained its wished for height, the *absolute subjugation* of America was renewedly urged in harsher notes than ever.

After the re-assembling of Parliament, the Commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole On the state

* The author was then an inhabitant of LONDON.

of the nation, when the capacious-minded and very energetic CHARLES FOX laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that "*It was impossible for any country to fall, within so few years, from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some RADICAL ERROR IN THE GOVERNMENT;*"—"that the present calamitous state of the nation was evidently to be traced to the *blind obstinacy* and wretched incapacity of its MINISTERS, who *would not listen to any overtures of conciliation*, and who *could not* carry into effect any plan of coercion."

Members of Parliament, Peers and Commons, use the terms *ministers* and *ministry* theoretically, as they ought in England, where the sovereign is made irresponsible by their constitution, in order to prevent meeting him again on the scaffold, or in the field of blood, while the ministers are the scape-goats by law established. In these United States it is directly the reverse. The Chief Magistrate is answerable for every measure, and his secretary of State, or prime minister, for none. We, therefore, when speaking of the attempt to tax us, without our consent, and of the consequent warfare, substitute the term KING, for that of *ministry*. All kings are obstinate from the very nature their office. Should it be said that George the Third was constitutionally obstinate, the term might possibly bear the constrained meaning of an equivocal from the tongue of flattery; I therefore substitute what cannot be twisted awry,—that King George the Third, grandson and successor of George the Second, was, by his peculiar *idiosyncrasy*, a very obstinate, cold-hearted man, rendered more so by an unfortunate education, partly Scotch, but chiefly German, with but little more of the English cast of character than a general sense of justice, and a correct course of domestic and personal morals. When he came unexpectedly to the throne, by the sudden death of his father and grandfather, it was hardly possible that his mind could have been stored with the requisite portion of the science of English government. It must have had blanks on the most important parts of government. His

knowledge of America was entire blank—an *hiatus valde deflendus*: yet these blanks were hastily filled up, by his mother and Lord Bute, with indelible ink. What could be expected from an honest, dull young man, with no poetry or music within him, thus situated and circumstanced? "He is strictly honest," says his governor, Earl Waldegrave, "but wants that frank and open behaviour, which makes honesty appear amiable." This distinguished nobleman, and favorite of George the Second, confesses that his task was irksome, and that his spirit and patience were at last exhausted;—that the mother and the nursery always prevailed, and to them and Lord Bute, it seems, the destined king of Great Britain was left. And he closes his interesting memoirs with this sombre picture of envied grandeur. "The constant anxiety and frequent mortifications, which accompany ministerial employments, are tolerably understood; but the world is totally unacquainted with the situation of those whom fortune has selected to be constant attendants and companions of royalty, who partake of its domestic amusements and social happiness. But I must not lift up the veil; and shall only add, that no man can have a clear conception how great personages pass their leisure hours, who has not been a prince's governor, or a king's favorite."

Under the early influence of gossiping conversation, how could a raw, inexperienced, unguarded youth acquire magnanimous maxims of state? He could not obtain them from such a pedlar in politics as Lord Bute, a man void of the least spark of genius, whose constant effort was to make superficialities appear solids, and who, with an air of profound wisdom, littered the young monarch's head with trifles, mechanical knicknacks, and pretty pictures of colored natural history, and systematic botany, baubles, and gimcracks, or varied his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry, the gazing-traps of simpletons, and the ridicule of every legitimate son of science. Had Prince George a single spark of gayety or *fun* in his composition, it must have excited ridicule of the teacher, gen-

erating contempt, more fatal to education and kingly government than even fear or hatred.

The domestic companions and instructors of the king, unable to corrupt his honest heart, or mend it, only hardened it, and warped his young understanding with the falsest notions of men, of things, and of himself. He was taught to believe that men, horses, and dogs, for which Old England was famous, degenerated in America, where nature *belittles* every thing, save venomous reptiles and noisome insects, and where *pejorated* human nature would naturally approximate the savage, unless restrained by the maternal care and guardianship of benevolent *Britannia*.

George the Third carried Lord Bute's routine of solemn trifling pretty much through life. He actually deemed it important to lead his two eldest sons to the love of agriculture, in which they were practically instructed at Windsor to sow, reap, thresh, grind, and sift wheat, to the completion of bread-making. The process of beer-making, and all the curiosities of the brewery, were well known to all his laughter-loving subjects. His rearing the finest breed of merino sheep, obtained him the pleasing title of the *Royal Shepherd*; and the sale of such as his Majesty did not choose to keep at Windsor, by public *auction*, at which *Sir Joseph Banks* presided, and superintended their *delivery*,—was all so amiably innocent, so simply honest, guileless, and entirely divested of the dangerous *Bonapartean* passion, ambition, that I marvel not at the very exalted character given to the sovereign by the poet-laureate, and by almost all the clergy of the established church; for, though trifling in his objects, it does not appear that he was irreligious or cruelly revengeful in his nature, and we charitably hope that, when very wrong, he *mistook* wrong for right.

* *Peter Pindar*,* with his matchless powers of ridicule, could never have set both hemispheres a laughing, had he selected for the subjects of it, either the late King *George the Fourth*, or the present monarch of England, *WILLIAM IV.*

* Dr. Wolcott.

Nevertheless, he must have been the primary and efficient cause of the movement in the secret and irresponsible cabinet after February, 1772; for at that period the Dowager died.* By its operation, two systems of administration were formed, one in the real secret and confidence, the other merely ostensible, to perform the official and executory offices of the state. "This *Court Faction*," to use the words of Mr. Burke, "proceeded gradually, but not slowly, to destroy every thing of strength which did not derive its principal nourishment from the immediate pleasure of the *Court*."—"In the beginning of each arrangement, no professions of confidence and support are wanting, to induce the leading men to engage. But while the ministers of *the day* appear in all the pomp and pride of power, while they have all their canvass spread out to the wind, and every sail filled with the fair and prosperous gale of royal favor, they find, *they know not how*, a current which sets directly against them, which prevents all progress, which even drives them backwards. That the *cabal* may be enabled to compass all the ends of its institution, its members are scarcely ever to aim at the high and *responsible* offices of state. They are distributed with art and judgment through all the secondary but efficient departments of office, and through the households of all the branches of the Royal family. Like *Janissaries*, they derive a kind of freedom from the very condition of their servitude. The name by which they choose to distinguish themselves is that of *THE KING'S FRIENDS*."† In the No-

* It is easily conceivable, that such a cunning arrangement was within the ability of a shrewd woman, whose cast of mind and habits approximated nearer to those of Mary Queen of Scots than to those of Queen Elizabeth; and that, when once established, this *imperium in imperio* could be sustained, after her death, by the special aid of Charles Jenkinson, the *quondam* private secretary of Lord Bute, the confidential adviser of the King and of *his* QUEEN Charlotte, the principal spoke in the primary wheel of that internal machinery or clock, to which we have often alluded, and of which the public saw only the face, with its *cuckoo*, the Duke of G——.

† "Thoughts on the *Causes of the Present Discontents*."

vember session of Parliament, 1779, the Marquis of Rockingham, instead of the usual servile echo to the King's speech, moved in the House of Peers an amendment, "to beseech his Majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence,—of reputation abroad and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his Majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation; and to turn his eyes on the present endangered, impoverished, and distracted state of the empire; and to state to his Majesty, that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can be only new counsels and new counsellors, a real change, from the conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless."

Did ever a crowned king receive a more severe and solemn rebuke? Considering whom it was from, and where delivered, it was a severer denouncement than the American *Declaration of Independence*, and, one would think, too serious to be made the subject of a monarch's laughter.

In the House of Commons a similar amendment to the Address was moved by Lord John Cavendish; a sharp debate ensued, in which Charles Fox was distinguished by his boldness. He said that it was not the mere rumor of the streets that the king was his *own* minister; but that the fatal truth was too evident to be denied by the members of the administration;—that it was a doctrine in the highest degree dangerous, to transfer the responsibility of the minister to a *personage* who could not, by the principles of the constitution, be called to an account." *

Nor was this all. Mr. Dunning,† in grand committee of the whole House, proposed that it should be resolved,—that "the INFLUENCE of the CROWN had *increased*, was *increasing*, and ought to be *diminished*." This motion was warmly sup-

* This defect in the British constitution is wisely remedied in the constitution of these United States.

† Lord Ashburton.

ported by the **SPEAKER** of the House of Commons, who, though rarely accustomed to take part in their debates, declared that, "on an occasion like the present, he should deem himself criminal in remaining silent; that the resolution proposed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof,—which, in its full extent, did not admit of proof. It could be known only to members of that House, as they were the only persons competent to resolve it. They were bound as jurors, by the conviction arising in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers constitutionally vested in the executive part of the government, were amply sufficient for all the purposes of good government, but its undue influence *had increased to a degree absolutely incompatible with every just idea of a limited monarchy*;—that they were sitting as the representatives of the people, solely for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful discharge of their trust."

Another occurrence deserves recording. *Earl Gower*, President of the Council, was a most strenuous supporter of the administration, and remarkable for his acrimonious and intemperate opposition to the opinions of Lord Chatham. But at this time, more than a year after that nobleman's death, he testified his change of sentiment, and said "that he had presided some years at the council-table, where **HE HAD SEEN SUCH THINGS PASS, THAT NO MAN OF HONOR OR CONSCIENCE COULD ANY LONGER SIT THERE.**" This is speaking stronger language than that used by Lord Camden on the same subject. He only said that he often at the council *hung down his head with shame.*

In such a humiliating state of things, as it regarded the Supreme Executive, George the Second would have retired to Hanover, and left the whigs of England to choose a King with sentiments more congenial to their own.

The war against America commenced in 1775, and continued eight years, during which the arms of the United States so far prevailed as to conquer two British armies, one in the north, commanded by General *Burgoyne*, the other in the south,

commanded by *Earl Cornwallis*. The people of England, once so fierce for *war against us*, now clamored for *peace*. But the king would not listen to it; and it was said that when Lord North told his royal master that he must make peace with America, the King, in a fit of fretfulness, was so overcome with passion as to utter the word *impeachment*.

The dignitaries of the church, almost to a man, and the Episcopal clergy generally, made much use of the personal, private, and pious character of the King, and zealously propagated the doctrine that the moral and religious character of a King was the circumstance most to be prized by his subjects; and when the Prince of Wales grew up, the contrast between the father and the son was industriously and malevolently remarked by the "King's friends," and every courtier. This was the universal language in Canada and Nova Scotia. Mr. Heron, in a note to a passage of the Letter of JUNIUS to the King, speaking of his goodness, virtue, and discretion, says—"How else should he have triumphed over the unpopularity which it was so industriously striven to excite against him, the first twelve years of his reign? How else should he have retained the *fond attachment of his people*, amid the disasters of the American war? Is it not the force of character that has preserved him so much more favor with a nation than his eldest son?" This writer has not been too well informed on this subject. Neither George the First, Second, nor Fourth, ever met with so many marks of popular hatred and disgust as George the Third, in going to and returning from Parliament.

It is not worth while for flattery to eulogize the royal character, when such men as *Sir George Saville*, the *Aristides* of Britain, held this public language to his constituents.* "I at length return to you, with hardly a ray of hope of seeing any change in the miserable course of public calamities. On this melancholy day of account, in rendering up to you my trust, I deliver to you your share of a country maimed

* Sir George Saville was member for the rich county of York.

and weakened, its treasure lavished and misspent, its honors faded, and its conduct the laughing-stock of Europe ; our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except such as *we have hired to destroy our fellow-subjects*, and to ravage a country in which we *once* claimed an invaluable share.

“Forbearing as well the forward promises as the superficial humbleness of phrase in use on these occasions, I make it a solemn duty to lay before you, without disguise or palliation, the present state of your concerns, as they appear to me, and the gloomy prospect which lies before us. Some have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes—nay, of having endeavoured to help forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raise discontents. I am willing to hope that neither my temper nor my situation in life will be thought naturally to urge me to promote misery, discord, or confusion, or to exult in the subversion of order, or the ruin of property. Trust not, however, to my report : reflect, compare, and judge for yourselves. But under all these disheartening circumstances, I could yet retain a cheerful hope, and undertake again the commission with alacrity as well as zeal, if I could see any effectual steps taken to remove the *original cause* of the mischief : THEN THERE WOULD BE A HOPE. Till the purity of the constituent body, and thereby that of the representatives, be restored, THERE IS NONE. I look upon restoring election and representation in some degree—for I expect no miracles—to their original purity, to be that without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous.”

The King of England had not a more respectable subject in point of character and influence than *Sir George Saville*, and what he said was like a body falling from a great height. Its impression was deep and lasting. Had the people of England more reason to rise up against the conduct of King Charles the First, than against the obstinate conduct of George the Third ? His pertinacity and their forbearance are wonders in the history of England. Who can be surprised at the *sharp PEN* of JUNIUS in lieu of a keener instrument ? It was the *indi-*

rectness of the attack upon English liberty through the sides of America, which preserved the third George from the greatest *personal* calamity. Lord Chatham, and a few more *real* WHIGS were sensible that, in this respect, America was, during eight long years, a battered shield held up to protect even *Britannia* from the uplifted hand of tyranny. It was not the greatest of misfortunes that England had such a phlegmatic man to succeed George the Second,—a man rather too good for another public warning to deluded monarchs; and not wise enough to be borne with patient dignity. There must be something rotten in the state of England, to generate such a condition of things, and to excite such universal discontent. George the Third, though born in London, was altogether German. There was no *John-Bullery* about him. No—his friend, the strong-spoken Lord *Thurlow*, monopolized that character even to its dregs.

On the 18th of October, 1781, *Earl Cornwallis* surrendered his army at Yorktown to *General Washington*. The second session of the new Parliament commenced the 27th of the following November, when the King, alluding to that disaster, declared in his speech, that “he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and A PERFECT CONVICTION of the JUSTICE of his CAUSE; and called for the concurrence of Parliament in a VIGOROUS, ANIMATED, and UNITED EXERTION of the FACULTIES and RESOURCES of his PEOPLE.”

Upon this strange language from the Throne, under these disastrous events and circumstances, a respectable and candid historian* remarks, that the whole speech was plainly indicative of a fixed and resolute determination to prosecute a war, of which it might well be supposed that “fools as gross as ignorance made drunk” might by this time have seen the hopelessness and the absurdity.

This extraordinary speech underwent as severe animadversion as the rules of Parliament would allow, particularly from

* *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third*, by W. Belsham, vol. iii.

Charles Fox, who said that "he and many others expected to hear on this occasion his Majesty declare from the Throne, that he had been deceived, and imposed upon by misinformation and misrepresentation; that in consequence of *his* delusion, the Parliament had been deluded, but that now the *déception* was at an end; that instead of requesting the Parliament to devise the most speedy and efficacious means of putting an end to the public calamities, they had heard a speech breathing little else than vengeance, misery, and blood. Those who *were ignorant of the personal character of the Sovereign*, and who imagined the speech to originate with him, might be led to suppose that he was an *unfeeling despot*, rejoicing in the horrid sacrifice of the liberty and lives of his subjects, who, when all hope of victory was vanished, still thirsted for revenge. The ministers, said he, who advised this speech, are a CURSE to the country over the affairs of which they had too long been suffered to preside." *

William Pitt, the *younger*, said on this occasion, "That the duty he owed his Sovereign and his country compelled him to exert every effort to prevent the House from precipitately voting an address, which pledged them to the support of that fatal system which had led this country, step by step, to the most calamitous and disgraceful situation to which a once flourishing and glorious empire could be reduced. Was it becoming the Parliament of a free people to echo back the words which a minister, long practised in the arts of delusion, had dared to put into the royal mouth? He implored the House not to vote for an address fraught with treachery and falsehood, which could not have been framed by any who felt for the honor of the King, the dignity of Parliament, or the interest of the nation."

The Duke of Richmond said, in the House of Peers, that the misfortunes of the country were owing to that wretched system of government which had been early adopted in the reign of his present Majesty, and to the influence of that In-

* Ibid.

TERIOR CABINET, which had been the ruin of the country ; and he recalled to the recollection of the House the memorable declaration of the *Earl of Chatham*, "that *he was duped and deceived*, and that he had not been ten days in the cabinet before *he felt the ground rotten under his feet*."

Yet flattering addresses were voted in both Houses, by great majorities.

On the 12th of December *Sir James Lowther* said that "the late speech from the Throne had given a just alarm to the nation ; it had shown them that the ministers were determined to persevere in the American war,—that more blood, and more money were to be lavished in this fatal contest ; the men invested with the powers of government derived no advantage from experience,—the *surrender* of one army only gave them spirit to risque a *second*, and the surrender of the second only instigated them to venture a *third*. There was no end of loss and of *madness*."

Mr. Powys, a distinguished leader of that respectable body of men, denominated in England the *country gentlemen*, followed in the same track, and said that the war with the Colonies was the idol of his Majesty's [ministers ;] they had bowed before it themselves, and made the nation bow. The conduct which at the commencement might be denominated firmness, had now degenerated into *obstinacy* ; an obstinacy which called upon all honest and independent men to desert the present administration, unless a change of measures were adopted.

General *Burgoyne* took the same side in the debate, and acknowledged that "he was now convinced the *principle* of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he engaged in the service. Passion and prejudice," said he, "and interest were now no more, and reason and observation had led him to a very different conclusion : and he now saw that the American war was only *one part of a system* levelled against the constitution, and *the general rights of mankind*."

The Secretary for "the American department" Lord George Germaine, stated to the House that the ministry intended to change the *plan* of the war, and not send another army to supply the place of that just captured at Yorktown; but only to preserve such posts in America, as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprises of their fleet. This called up that firm and faithful patriot, *Sir George Saville*, who said that he had not heard the King's speech on its first delivery; but when it reached him in his retirement, he read it with **HORROR**. We are given to understand, said he, that a change is to be made in the **MODE** of conducting the American war. The ministers do not intend to prosecute it in the same manner as before.—Why? Because they could not, if they would. He ridiculed in the most pointed manner, the mean, futile, servile, empty-sounding *echoes* of the King's speeches. He said the ministers had lost the two hands of the empire in the prosecution of this frantic and ineffectual war. By a continuance of it they would risque the **HEAD**. Such a conduct resembled, if it did not indicate, the violence of *insanity*.

General Conway declared himself anxious for the return of the fleets and armies from America. As to the idea now suggested, of a war of posts, he asked—what garrisons would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even *Sir Henry Clinton* did not consider himself safe at New York?

Mr. Pitt reprobated, with an eloquence resembling that of his illustrious father, this renewal of the war on a new plan, as a species of *obstinacy* bordering upon **MADNESS**. Nor was the noble city of **LONDON** silent on this solemn topic. In their petition to the King they implore his Majesty to dismiss from his presence and councils all the advisers, both public *and* *secret*, of the measures pursued and contemplated.

After the King in high displeasure had turned his back on the unfortunate Burgoyne for not performing *impossibilities*, he thought fit to reward Lord George Germaine with a peerage, which was considered an insufferable indignity to the House of Peers, and an outrageous insult to the public. Lord *Abing-*

ton said of him, "What has that person done to merit honors superior to his fellow citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that cursed *invisible* though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, so he had obtained his reward." Before the great seal was affixed to the patent, the *Marquis of Carmarthen* moved in the House of Peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honor of that House, that any person laboring under the sentence of a court martial, styled in the public orders issued by his late Majesty, '*a censure much worse than death*,' and adjudged unfit to serve his Majesty in *any military capacity*, should be recommended to the Crown as a proper person to sit in that House." Lord George Germaine, who had actually taken his seat, rose up and denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed "that he considered his restoration to the Council Board, at a *very early* period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The Duke of Richmond said that he himself was present at the battle of *Minden*, and could have proved that the time lost, when Lord George Germaine delayed to advance was not less than *one hour and an half*, and that his Lordship's cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action. *Lord Southampton*, who was aid-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, and delivered the message of his Serene Highness to Lord G. Germaine, *vindicated* the equity of the sentence.

Yet such was the overwhelming influence of the Sovereign, and the servility of ninety-three Lords, against twenty-eight, that the "*Minden hero*" enjoyed a seat in the House of Lords, *as a Peer!* and it appeared that he never enjoyed himself much out of that House, or at a distance from St. James's.

Wellbore Ellis, next to Charles Jenkinson, was the most busy, steady, and efficient member of the secret and invisible cabinet. His great zeal in the prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, gave birth to this striking passage in JUNIUS—"The *mine* was *sunk*, combustibles provided, and *Wellbore Ellis*, the *Guy*

Faux of the fable, waited only for the signal of command,"—which exquisite graphical description gave birth to a satirical engraving, entitled "*Gun-powder Plot*"; in which Mr. Ellis was drawn with a *lantern*, setting fire to the *combustibles*, prepared for blowing up the *Constitution*; and Lord Bute in the back ground, with a truncheon in his hand, giving the word of command.

On the King's raising our old enemy Lord George Germaine to the peerage, *Wellbore Ellis* was appointed to fill his place as Secretary for the American Department. He informed the House of Commons, in February 1782—that now [since the capture of *Earl Cornwallis* and his army] the war was to be carried on against America on a more contracted scale, and that hostilities were to be prosecuted by means very dissimilar from the past. That "*the unhappy faction* in America, which still continued its resistance to the government of this kingdom, though *less numerous than the party of the royalists*, could only be *rooted out* by pushing the war with vigor against France. In order to obtain peace with America *we must* vanquish the French; and as in the late war [that carried on by Lord *Chatham*] France had been said to be conquered in Germany,—so in *this* America *must* be conquered in France"!—Here is a specimen of the wisdom and of the *information* of a member of the interior cabinet. This strange speech of Mr. Ellis called forth the indignation and contempt of the all-sensitive Burke, who said "that the honorable gentleman was indeed an old member, but a young Secretary—that having studied at the feet of Gamaliel, he had entered into full possession of all the parliamentary qualifications, by which his predecessor had been so conspicuously distinguished;—the same attachments, the same antipathies, the same extravagant delusion, the same wild phantoms of the brain, marked the Right Hon. gentleman as the true ministerial heir and residuary legatee of the noble viscount; and notwithstanding the metamorphosis he had recently undergone, he was so truly the same thing in the same place, that justly might it be said of

him, "*Alter et idem nascitur.*" Being of the caterpillar species, he had remained the destined time within the soft and silken folds of a lucrative employment, till having burst his ligaments, he fluttered forth the butterfly minister of the day."

On General Conway's motion "for an address to the King, earnestly imploring his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force," Mr. Ellis opposed it by a very long speech, of which we have given a short specimen, not much to the credit of the speaker, on the score of information. He was, however, a man of talents and industry, ingenious in evading, palliating, explaining away, and straining precedents. He could magnify trifles, and trace similitudes where none ever existed, and deny and assert when the proofs were not within reach : on the whole, he was a very useful member of the secret cabinet, a JUNTO, described, or rather alluded to by JUNIUS, in as bitter a paragraph as ever issued from the pen of that matchless writer, viz.

"Without attempting to account for all the political changes, which have happened since his Majesty's auspicious accession to the Throne, it requires but little sagacity to observe that the general principle, from which they have arisen, is uniform and consistent with itself. A Prince of the house of Brunswick searches for consolation and endearments of private sociality and friendship in the loyal hearts of *Jacobites, Tories, and Scotchmen* ;—a devout Prince, whose sincere, unaffected piety would have done honor even to Charles the First, intrusts the *public* government of his affairs to Grafton, North, Halifax, and Sandwich. The first choice naturally led to the second. The *private* convivial hours of Jonathan Wild * were happily unbent in the company of the lower adepts in pilfering and petty

* A notorious highwayman, and captain of a gang of thieves, celebrated by Fielding.

larceny. In *public*, he resumed his state, and never appeared without an attendant knot of highwaymen and assassins."

JUNIUS never penned a more impertinent, if not impudent paragraph, than this against the Sovereign, his *ostentible*, and his *secret* counsellors. It was contained in a letter to the printer, Dec. 20, 1770, and signed DOMITIAN, and concludes thus—"Give me leave, Mr. Woodfall, to ask you a serious question. How long do you think it possible for this management to last? How long is this great country to be governed by a *boot* and a *petticoat*?—by the infamous tools of a Scotch exile, and her Royal Highness the *Princess Dowager of Wales*?—by *North, Ellis, Barrington, Jenkinson, Hillsborough, Jerry Dyson, and Sandwich*?—I will answer you with precision. It will last, until there is a *general insurrection* of the English nation, or until the house of Bourbon have collected their strength and strike you to the heart."

JUNIUS, under the same recognised signature of "DOMITIAN," Jan. 17, 1771, says—"His Majesty, God bless him! has now got rid of every man whose former services or present scruples could be supposed to give offence to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales. The security of our civil and religious liberties cannot be more happily provided for than while *Lord Mansfield* pronounces the law, and *Lord Sandwich* represents the religion of St. James's. Such law and such religion are too closely united to suffer even a momentary intervention of common honesty between them. Her Royal Highness' scheme of government, formed long before her husband's death, is now accomplished. She has succeeded in disuniting every party, and dissolving every connexion; and, by the mere influence of the Crown, has formed an administration, such as it is, out of the refuse of them all.

"There are two leading principles in the politics of St. James's, which will account for almost every measure of government since the King's accession. The first is, that the *prerogative* is sufficient to make a lackey a prime minister, and to maintain him in that post, without any regard to the welfare

or to the opinion of the people.—The second is, that none but persons insignificant in themselves, or of tainted reputation, should be brought into employment. Men of greater consequence and abilities will have *opinions of their own*, and will not submit to the meddling, unnatural ambition of a *mother*, who grasps at unlimited power, at the hazard of her son's destruction. They will not suffer measures of public utility, which have been resolved upon in council, to be checked and controlled by a secret influence in the closet. Such men consequently will never be called upon but in cases of extreme necessity. When that ceases, they find their places no longer tenable."

How consonant is all this to what we have related of the Earl of Chatham, and to what he himself said in the House of Peers, respecting the secret influence, or that influence *behind* the Throne, *greater* than the Throne itself.

We have said already that when the Princess Dowager of Wales found she could not make a *Solomon* of her son, she resolved to make him a *Joseph*. Her wish was to marry him to one of the Princesses of the *Saxe-Gotha* family; but George the Second opposed it, saying he had enough of that already. He strongly recommended a Princess of Brunswick, for the transcendancy of her person and mind; but the Dowager was opposed to her as an unfit character for her sober and phlegmatic son, and signified that such a brilliant woman would influence George entirely, which idea militated against her policy; and so they adopted a middle course, and selected Princess CHARLOTTE of Mecklenberg-Strelitz. *Mons. Le Montagnard Parvenu* says that "Heaven, through the intermediate agency of the new Secretary of State, *Lord Bute*, pointed out that Princess for Queen." She was a woman of safe qualities of person, mind, and conduct, not but what she had her opinions, and occasional influence in the *interior* cabinet, where her esteemed Mr. Jenkinson was not the least of its influential members.*

* Charles Jenkinson, late Lord Liverpool, was Solicitor General to the Queen, and greatly confided in by her Majesty.

The royal mother had probably a perfectly correct idea of her son's character—a young man of a slow but sure understanding, of obtuse feelings as it regarded himself and others about him, with more mathematics in his composition, than poetry or music, and commonly obtaining a clear insight into men and things within a narrow compass. She inculcated with entire success the church common-prayer book, and all the mechanical parts of good breeding becoming a perfect gentleman. Had his male instructors been equally successful, it might have been better for the realm, and happier for its monarch. It seems to us that he had never been wisely instructed in the royal PREROGATIVE, down through a long succession of *English Kings*. That a young monarch ignorant of the world and of himself, should incline his ear to the maxims of the house of Stuart, and to those of Saxe-Gotha, where the sovereignty is *property*, and not *magistracy* as in England, is not much to be wondered at. The intoxicating view of the kingly power as displayed in English law books, is illusive; there his *sacred Majesty* is said to be absolute ruler of the State; supreme judge among its inhabitants; sole owner of its land; commander of its forces; representative of its existence abroad; fountain of its honors—immortal, infallible, everywhere present, and incapable of doing or meaning wrong; and to be a corporation sole.* The distinguished personage invested with such mighty authority is a mere creature of legal theory; his power in practice is checked; his defects are supplied in various ways; he cannot act in any way without some adviser, and some instrument *answerable* for what is done, which makes the power, in the law book stated to be supreme, in practice exceedingly limited. In a word, this British sovereignty, though an ideal creature, places the King high beyond all competition. Hence it is that there is no Christian monarch who is approached with so many tokens of veneration and respect, bordering upon awe, as the Kings of Great Britain, even since

* See Edinburgh Review for October, 1830, article VIII. Growth of the Royal Prerogative. By John Allen.

the revolution of 1688. Their footmen or body attendants are noblemen, and the waiting-maids of their Queens a species of nobility.

The sovereign power of Great Britain is a first-rate man of war, and the most potent ship of the line :—call her, if you please to excuse the jumble of sexes, the *Royal GEORGE* in all its gallant trim, bearing at her mast-head the emblem of sovereignty with gorgeous decorations—a triple set of officers and a numerous crew, ample stores and warlike equipments—a rapidly moving battery of the heaviest cannon exceeding in number most sorts of stone ; a sort of tremendous thunder cloud ; a mischief, undreamt of in Greece and Rome, and beyond their poet's imagination or philosophy's credibility ; a beauty to gaze at—at once the pride, nay, perfection of human art and power, whether we contemplate its construction, arrangement, and economy, or its management to its destined end, by bridling the winds, and making air and water obedient to man's command, while it pours forth fire and destruction, thunder and lightning, on its enemies, itself being in safety. To complete the wonder, the whole is carried rapidly through the trackless ocean in the darkest night, by the inscrutable influence of a little stone to all appearance worthless, giving a fresh instance that, in the affairs of men, Providence uses the smallest and most contemptible means to operate the greatest and most powerful effects. Such is the splendid emblem of the constitutional power of a British King and ministry, the pride of man and the perfection of *Art*, that distinguishing attribute of human nature. Yet are the *COMMONS*, that is, the *PEOPLE*, the *Water*, without which the *Royal George* cannot stir an inch, and which they can at any time draw off by denying supplies, and leave this *eighth* wonder of the world, aground, absolutely immoveable, with no power beyond that of cannon and musquet shot,—to perish, an object of commiseration and tears, rather than of fear and reverence. Such a thing is but a costly pageant, without its origin and support, *WATER*, that element which enters into every thing in a growing state, that refreshes, recruits, and makes fruitful, and which when extracted, that

thing perishes and crumbles to dust. If such were not the condition and the fate of Charles the First of England, and Louis the Sixteenth of France, I have read their history to little advantage.—I write for my countrymen.

It is difficult and hazardous to pronounce on the compound character of a king. We must compare kings with one another, and not with men in lower and less exposed stations. The late President Jefferson, for whose memory I retain a very great respect without subscribing to all his opinions, says of them in a letter to General Washington dated Paris, May 2, 1788—“I was much an enemy to monarchies before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so, since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries which may not be traced to their king as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibres of republicanism existing among them. I can further say with safety, that there is not a crowned head in Europe whose talents or merits could entitle him to be elected a vestry man by the people of any parish in America.”

In a letter from the same distinguished character to *Governor Langdon of New Hampshire*, in 1810, he says,—“When I observed that the King of England was a cipher, I did not mean to confine the observation to the mere individual now on the throne. The practice of kings marrying only into the family of kings, has been that of Europe for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a sty, a stable, or a state room,—pamper them with high diet, gratify all their appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let every thing bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law of nature—by that very law by which we are in the constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regimen in raising kings, and this is the way they have gone on for centuries. While in Europe, I often

amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. *Lewis the Sixteenth* was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at his trial. The king of Spain was a fool; of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, 1000 miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature; and so was the king of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The king of Prussia, successor to the great Frederic, was a mere hog, in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a strait waistcoat.

"There remained, then, none but *old Catharine*, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. In this state *BONAPARTE* found Europe; and it was this state of its rulers which lost it with scarce a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless; and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. *Alexander*, the grandson of Catharine, is yet an exception. He is able to hold his own. But he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet worn out. And so endeth *the book of Kings, from all of which the Lord deliver us.*"

Although we must not set aside the moral character of public men in forming an estimate of their merits, yet there is danger of allowing too much weight, when good or when bad. John Wilkes was represented by the courtiers, even by Lord Sandwich, as too bad to live at large, and his sovereign as too good not to be, in a degree, worshipped. Yet see how these things operate. Had Wilkes possessed a character as good as Sir George Saville's, that, together with his *cause*, the pen of JUNIUS, the eloquence of Chatham and of Charles Fox, would have placed George the Third where *Charles the Tenth* of France now is. The domestic character of the British King, his decency

and decorum, his assenting conversation, and general becoming behaviour gave great weight to whatever he deliberately pronounced, whether from the throne, at the reception of ambassadors, or at the levee. Yet JUNIUS * places this to little account, by an artful, and I had like to have said, malignant allusion to the characters of *King Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*, two among the worst kings of England. After saying that George the Third, for many months, heard nothing from his people but the language of complaint, he adds, that it was the daily triumph of his courtiers that he heard it with an indifference approaching to contempt. He subjoins; "On a prorogation of parliament, the members retire into summer quarters, and rest from the disgraceful labors of the campaign; but it is not so with the sovereign, he has a permanent existence; he cannot withdraw himself from the complaints, the discontents, the reproaches of his subjects; they pursue him to his retirement, and invade his domestic happiness." JUNIUS adds with as much bitterness as ability these sarcastic remarks—"A new system has not only been adopted in fact, but professed upon principle. Ministers are no longer public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the sovereign. One particular class of men are permitted to call themselves "*the King's friends*," as if the body of the people were the king's enemies; or as if his majesty looked for a resource or consolation in the attachment of a few favorites, against the general contempt and detestation of his subjects. *Edward* and *Richard* the Second made the same distinction between the collective body of the people, and a contemptible party who surrounded the throne. The event of this mistaken conduct might have been a warning to their successors. Yet the errors of those princes were not without excuse. They had as many *false* friends as George the Third, and infinitely greater temptations to seduce them. They were neither sober, religious, nor demure. Intoxicated with pleasure, they wasted their inheritance in pursuit of it. Their lives were like a rapid torrent,

* Letter XXXIX.

brilliant in prospect, though useless or dangerous in its course. In the dull, unanimated existence of other princes, we see nothing but a sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertilizing the soil. The morality of a king is not to be measured by vulgar rules. His situation is singular. There are faults that do him honor, and virtues that disgrace him.—A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme.—Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of ideas, he can never open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block.

“ At any other period, I doubt not the scandalous disorders which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies in the empire would have roused the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the *prerogative* at home, the unconstitutional employment of the military, the arbitrary fines and commitments by the House of Lords, and Court of King’s Bench, the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended cheerfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute, would I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation. But the daring attack upon the constitution, in the Middlesex election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart.” *

* See Junius to the Duke of Grafton, Letter VIII, on the King’s pardoning Edward McQuirk for the murder of George Clark. McQuirk had been active in a mob at Brentford, on the ministerial side in the election of Wilkes, and his pardon was very generally execrated, while the King would not grant a pardon to the twin brother of Daniel Perreau (a man in gay life condemned for forgery) who was in no

From what has been said, collected from JUNIUS, and other high authorities, the American reader will be able to see in a narrow compass, the *causes* of that *discontent* of the people of England, which commenced soon after the accession of King George the Third, and prevailed, more or less, from that period to the time when he was compelled, sorely against his will, to relinquish the contest with America ; because he could find no man of sufficient hardihood to become his minister for carrying it on. After the capture of the second army, under *Earl Cornwallis*, the least gleam of success in Georgia or in the Carolinas, gave fresh hopes, and renewed force to the monarch's ruling

way implicated in the crime ; but perjured himself to save, as he hoped, his brother Robert from the gallows. This gentleman was a respectable practitioner of physic in London, kept his carriage, had numerous friends, and was much esteemed. Though condemned as an accessory, no one believed that he would be hanged for a *lie*. But the public were disappointed. The pity excited by Dr. Perreau's hard fate was universal, and his execution was deeply deprecated. The indignation, horror, and disgust at the moving sight of the two twin brothers swung off holding each other by the hands, in despite of the earnest intercession of thousands, were loud, deep, and universal. The feeling in the *individual*, who denied the prayer of the people, was not akin to that which impelled *Junius Brutus* to order the execution of his own son. It was nearer that of *Pharaoh*, whose hardness of heart brought plagues innumerable upon the land he misgoverned. I would not deprive a merciful king of a jot of praise merited. George the Third granted a pardon to a certain *sex-ton* and his partner "a *resurrection-man*," who were under sentence to be *whipped* round the bounds of a parish, for taking from a grave the body of a female for one of his best customers to dissect. The anatomist who employed the man was physician to the Queen, a Scotchman, and a distinguished favorite in the royal family, having admirable powers of *mimetical* story-telling, which he often exercised to the great diversion of the *first man* in the realm. The Doctor upon his knees most earnestly implored the pardon of these men, urging that the streets were filled with people ready to tear the culprits to pieces for a deed to them so abhorrent, but necessary to him as a teacher, being, by the king's appointment, anatomical lecturer to the Royal Academy of painting ; and the offenders were pardoned accordingly, however singular in the history of *Royal grace* !

passion, the subjugation of America, and his imagined fruits of a rich revenue. But alas ! the shortsightedness of man, and the miscalculation of princes !—The Alchymists of the middle ages sought for *gold* and found *gun-powder*, and so it happened with George the Third in his dreams of riches to be drawn from America. I however put a more charitable construction on most of the errors of the king than JUNIUS has. I believe that the *seeds* of *INSANITY* had sprouted earlier than the ministry, or the people generally, were apprized of. In 1781, if I am not mistaken by a year, the king *turned over two leaves of his largely written speech from the throne without ever knowing it*. The hearers were surprised at its brevity, and the minister mortified. Several members of Parliament in the year 1782, used freely the word *insanity*, and William Pitt the younger, speaking of the renewal of the war, called it a species of obstinacy, bordering upon *madness* ; and so did Sir George Saville.

Such were the sentiments of the most illustrious of the English nation, respecting the great AMERICAN QUESTION, and the conduct of the King. It would be a departure from justice if we did not record our *own* complaints, and the reasons of *our* resistance and final separation from Great Britain, as deliberately and solemnly proclaimed in our *Declaration of Independence*.

———“ The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“ He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“ He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the

right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“ He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“ He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

“ He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise ; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“ He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

“ He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“ He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“ He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

“ He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

“ He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power.

“ He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation ;

“ For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

“ For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

“ For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

“ For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

“ For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

“ For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

“ For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

“ For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments :

“ For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“ He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“ He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“ He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“ He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“ He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare

is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.”

We have recorded the accusation or allegation against GEORGE the Third, our former king, as manifested to the world July 4, 1776, by the representatives of the American people in Congress assembled, in the form of a solemn *Declaration* of our INDEPENDENCY. Lest it should appear to contain too deep marks of resentment, we think it fair, in our justification, to record also the sentiments of an illustrious Englishman, we mean the great reformer JUNIUS, respecting the general conduct of his sovereign, as nobly expressed in his famous LETTER to the KING, in order to show that we were not the only subjects of that monarch who had cause of complaint, and that the *Whigs*, on both sides of the Atlantic, were animated by the same sacred principle of liberty.

We ask the reader to set before his chastened imagination the character and person of any and every one of those to whom the authorship of this far-famed address has been attributed: and after fixing in his mind the dignity of the scene, let him ask himself whether he can admit any one of them to the honor of being the *Mentor* to a good-intentioned, moral, but misguided king; and whether our *original* hypothesis (for we claim to have made the discovery, by *induction*,) be not reconcilable to his feelings and judgment, viz. that *Lord CHATHAM was this venerable father advising a son*. The picture has impressed my imagination nearly forty years—an *Aristotle* advising, admonishing, and controlling an *Alexander*;—a *Magus* respectfully, kindly advising, and conscientiously admonishing a young, inexperienced Eastern king—a monarch with an honest heart, a very confined horizon, and surrounded with bad examples. To

express our ideas mythologically ;—it was *Minerva* in the shape of *Mentor*, cautioning, advising, and lamenting over his beloved *Telemachus*, who was left in his cradle to be educated by his *mother* and other *women*, while his knight-errant of a father was roaming over the world in search of renown.

Upon this idea of a venerable sage and most eminent statesman, exceeding all others in political knowledge, native talents, matchless industry, happy eloquence, tried integrity, disinterested patriotism, unsullied morals, proud honor, and courage of all kinds, is there not a congruity, a naturalness, and consistency throughout the whole procedure of JUNIUS towards the *king*, and towards worse men? Him he treats with constitutional regard and respect, while he takes the dissecting scalpel to others, whom, after exposing their morbid condition, he has preserved as so many dried preparations for the instruction of those ministers and courtiers who shall come after them. No man hitherto *guessed* to be JUNIUS will bear our test. Weighed in the balance, they have *all* been found wanting. During nearly forty years I have scanned them all, after my first suspicion that the celebrated eulogy on *Lord Chatham* in the *fifty-fourth* letter of JUNIUS was a *seipse* portrait. This our opinion frees us from innumerable difficulties which incumber every other hypothesis, every one else marring the noble picture. Our hypothesis would read well in poetry, look well upon canvass, and still better in chaste history, provided the idea of a conscientious *Reformer* be never, for a moment, lost sight of, and that of a malignant satirist and cowardly assassin be put entirely out of the question. The deep disease—the something rotten in the state of Britain, called loudly for such a *HERCULES* in politics ; and his salutiferous deeds have been, and long will be, operative in these United States, and are actually now operating good in the best part of Europe.

It is a saying almost proverbial, that heavenly inspiration has ceased in these latter days. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT. I believe that the inspiration of the ALMIGHTY still giveth extraordinary understanding :—nor can I ever believe that *Columbus*, *Chat-*

ham, and *Napoleon* gave to themselves those superior powers of mind, which have effected, and are still effecting, mighty changes in the affairs of men.—But I keep the reader too long from the sight of a solid structure, which, like some of the venerable temples of antiquity, would have been debased by a profusion of ornament.

TO
THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.*

“ 19 *December*, 1769.

“ When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to increase in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered ; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance ; the time will soon arrive, at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a gracious, well-intentioned Prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own disgraceful situation : that he looks round him for assistance ; and asks for no advice, but how to gratify the wishes, and secure the happiness of his subjects. In these circumstances, it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to consider, if an honest man were permitted to approach a king, in what terms he would address himself to his sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the first prejudice against his character is removed ; that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are surmounted ; that he feels himself animated by the purest and most honorable affections to his King and country ; and that the great person whom he addresses has spirit enough to bid him speak freely, and understanding enough to listen to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain im-

* Letter XXXV.

pertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness, but not without respect."

"SIR,

"It is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your disposition.* We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpose, to invade those original rights of your subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been possible for us to entertain a suspicion so dishonorable to your character, we should

"* The plan of tutelage and future dominion over the heir apparent, laid many years ago at Carleton-House, between the Princess Dowager and her favorite the Earl of Bute, was as gross and palpable, as that which was concerted between Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, to govern Lewis the Fourteenth, and in effect to prolong his minority until the end of their lives. That prince had strong natural parts, and used frequently to blush for his own ignorance and want of education, which had been wilfully neglected by his mother and her minion. A little experience, however, soon showed him how shamefully he had been treated, and for what infamous purposes he had been kept in ignorance. Our great Edward, too, at an early period, had sense enough to understand the nature of the connexion between his abandoned mother and the detested Mortimer. But, since that time, human nature, we may observe, is greatly altered for the better. Dowagers may be chaste, and minions may be honest. When it was proposed to settle the present king's household as Prince of Wales, it is well known that the Earl of Bute was forced into it, in direct contradiction to the late king's inclination. That was the salient point, from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion. From that moment, Lord Bute never suffered the Prince of Wales to be an instant out of his sight....We need not look farther."

long since have adopted a style of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, that *the King can do no wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable, good-natured Prince, from the folly and treachery of his servants; and the private virtues of the man, from the vices of his government. Were it not for this just distinction, I know not whether your Majesty's condition, or that of the English nation, would deserve most to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favorable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offensive idea, of personal reproach. Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing but that, as *they* are reasonable and affectionate enough to separate your person from your government, so *you*, in your turn, should distinguish between the conduct which becomes the permanent dignity of a King, and that which serves only to promote the temporary interest and miserable ambition of a minister.

“You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution, of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young Prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words; and loyal to you, not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate; but a partial, animated attachment, to a favorite Prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience; but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people, who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do justice to yourself. Banish from your mind those unworthy opinions, with which some interested persons have labored to possess you. Distrust the men, who tell you that the English are naturally light and inconstant;.....that they complain without a cause. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties; from min-

isters, favorites, and relations: and let there be one moment in your life, in which you have consulted your own understanding.

“When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishman, believe me, Sir, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects, at the expense of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion, they are undoubtedly entitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving some encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the House of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future steadiness of their allegiance. But, hitherto, they have no claim to your favor. To honor them with a determined predilection and confidence, in exclusion of your English subjects, who placed your family, and in spite of treachery and rebellion have supported it, upon the throne, is a mistake too gross, even for the unsuspecting generosity of youth. In this error, we see a capital violation of the most obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

“To the same early influence we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share, not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne, the whole system of government was altered; not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor. A little personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the Crown; * but it is not in this country, Sir, that such men can be dishonored by the

* One of the first acts of the present reign was to dismiss Mr. Legge, because he had, some years before, refused to yield his interest in Hampshire to a Scotchman recommended by Lord Bute. This was the reason publicly assigned by his Lordship.”

frowns of a king. They were dismissed, but could not be disgraced. Without entering into a minuter discussion of the merits of the peace, we may observe, in the imprudent hurry with which the first overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation and terms of the treaty, the strongest marks of that precipitate spirit of concession with which a certain part of your subjects have been at all times ready to purchase a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part, we are satisfied that every thing was honorable and sincere ; and, if England was sold to France, we doubt not that your Majesty was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and surprise to your subjects, but not the immediate cause of their present discontent.

“ Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own ?

“ A man, not very honorably distinguished in the world, commences an attack upon your favorite ; considering nothing, but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by a peculiar character, as by your majesty’s favor. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the land of plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism ; those of the other, in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics, the same liberal sentiments by which his private conduct had been directed ; and seemed to think that, as there are few excesses in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them.....I mean to state,

not entirely to defend, his conduct. In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him. He said more than moderate men would justify ; but not enough to entitle him to the honor of your Majesty's personal resentment. The rays of royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favor of the people on one side, and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first, he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause for which we suffer....Is this a contention worthy of a king ? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed ? The destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object of your government ; and, if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object, the utmost influence of the executive power, and every ministerial artifice, exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless *he* should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws to which you owe your crown, or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons *he* has received from experience, will probably guard him from such excess of folly ; and, in your Majesty's virtues, we find an unquestionable assurance, that no illegal violence will be attempted.

“ Far from suspecting you of so horrible a design, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this last enormous attack upon the vital principles of the constitution, to an ill-advised, unworthy, personal resentment. From one

false step you have been betrayed into another ; and, as the cause was unworthy of you, your ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution should correspond with the wisdom and dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties ;...to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question, from the rights and interests of one man, to the most important rights and interests of the people ; and forced your subjects, from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do a dishonor to the conduct of the piece.

“ The circumstances to which you are reduced will not admit of a compromise with the English nation. Undecisive, qualifying measures, will disgrace your government still more than open violence ; and, without satisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much understanding and spirit to accept of an indirect satisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing less than a repeal, as formal as the resolution itself, can heal the wound that has been given to the constitution, nor will any thing less be accepted. I can readily believe, that there is an influence sufficient to recall their pernicious vote. The House of Commons undoubtedly consider their duty to the crown as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental existence, and have justly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors.....from those who gave them birth, to the minister from whose benevolence they derive the comforts and pleasures of their political life....who has taken the tenderest care of their infancy, and relieves their necessities without offending their delicacy. But, if it were possible for their integrity to be de-

graded to a condition so vile and abject, that, compared with it, the present estimation they stand in is a state of honor and respect, consider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a House of Commons? It is not in the nature of human society, that any form of government, in such circumstances, can long be preserved. In ours, the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their detestation. Such, I am persuaded, would be the necessary effect of any base concession made by the present House of Commons; and, as a qualifying measure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide, whether you will, at any hazard, support a set of men who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wishes of the whole people of England by dissolving the parliament.

“Taking it for granted, as I do very sincerely, that you have personally no design against the constitution, nor any view inconsistent with the good of your subjects, I think you cannot hesitate long upon the choice which it equally concerns your interest and your honor to adopt. On one side, you hazard the affections of all your English subjects; you relinquish every hope of repose to yourself, and you endanger the establishment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatsoever, or for such an object as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of sense will examine your conduct with suspicion; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamors equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an English king be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy; and this, perhaps, is the only political truth which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But, if the English people should no longer confine their re-

sentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs ; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance ?

“ The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them,* because he is the creature of Lord Bute ; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a king with the disgraceful representation of him.

“ The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the Legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown : they pleased themselves with the hope that their sovereign, if not favorable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds.† They consider you as united with your servants

* Viscount Townshend, sent over on the plan of being resident Governor. The history of his ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public.”

† In the king’s speech of 8 November 1768, it was declared, ‘ That the spirit of faction had broken out afresh in some of the Colonies ; and, in one of them, proceeded to acts of violence and resistance to the execution of the laws ;.....that Boston was in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and had proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that manifested a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain.’ ”

against America ; and know how to distinguish the sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their king ; but if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the Presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree :.....they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop.

“ It is not, then, from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance ; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question, are parties against you. You are not, however, destitute of every appearance of support : You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories, of this country ; and all Scotland, without exception. Considering from what family you are descended, the choice of your friends has been singularly directed ; and truly, Sir, if you had not lost the Whig interest of England, I should admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it possible for you to place any confidence in men who, before they are faithful to you, must renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and state, which they inherit from their ancestors, and are confirmed in by their education ? whose numbers are so inconsiderable, that they have long since been obliged to give up the principles and language which distinguish them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies ? Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive ; at last they betray.

“As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biassed from your earliest infancy, in their favor, that nothing less than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your ancestors, and, when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigotted understanding can draw a proof of attachment to the house of Hanover, from a notorious zeal for the house of Stuart, and find an earnest of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are, however, in their favor : so strongly, indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful king, and had mistaken you for a pretender to the crown. Let it be admitted, then, that the Scotch are as sincere in their present professions, as if you were, in reality, not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North. You would not be the first prince, of their native country, against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favorite concealed from you that part of our history, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open, avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion to the good faith of his own countrymen ? Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, he applied only to their honor as gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament ; then basely sold their native king to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament, representing the nation. A wise prince might draw from it two lessons of equal utility to himself. On one side, he might learn to dread the undisguised resentment of a generous people, who dare openly assert their rights, and who, in a just cause, are ready to meet their sovereign in the field. On the other side, he would be taught to apprehend something far more

formidable ;.....a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The insidious smile upon the cheek, would warn him of the canker in the heart.

“ From the uses to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have some reason to expect that there are no services they would refuse. Here, too, we trace the partiality of your understanding. You take the sense of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the same justice with which you collect the sense of the people from the representations of the ministry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example, either as soldiers or subjects. They feel, and resent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undistinguishing favor, with which the guards are treated ; * while those gallant troops, by whom every hazardous, every laborious service is performed, are left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no sense of the great original duty they owe their country, their resentment would operate like patriotism, and leave your cause to be defended by those to whom you have lavished the rewards and honors of their profession. The Prætorian Bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace ; but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

“ * The number of commissioned officers in the guards are to the marching regiments as one to eleven ;.....the number of regiments given to the guards, compared with those given to the line, is about three to one, at a moderate computation : consequently, the partiality in favor of the guards is as thirty-three to one.....So much for the officers.....The private men have four-pence a day to subsist on ; and five hundred lashes, if they desert. Under this punishment they frequently expire. With these encouragements, it is supposed they may be depended upon, whenever a certain person thinks it necessary to butcher his *fellow-subjects*.”

“ On this side, then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation : you may shelter yourself under the forms of a parliament, and set your people at defiance. But be assured, Sir, that such a resolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately shake your establishment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

“ On the other, how different is the prospect ! How easy, how safe and honorable, is the path before you ! The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives, and solicit your majesty to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust which they find has been scandalously abused. You are not to be told, that the power of the House of Commons is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people from whom they received it. A question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body. By what authority shall it be decided ? Will your majesty interfere in a question in which you have properly no immediate concern ? It would be a step equally odious and unnecessary. Shall the Lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the Commons ? They cannot do it, without a flagrant breach of the constitution. Or, will you refer it to the judges ? They have often told your ancestors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party then remains, but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves ? They alone are injured ; and, since there is no superior power to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

“ I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a subject already so discussed that inspiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your majesty to consider the late proceedings of the House of Commons. By depriving

a subject of his birth-right, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature ; and, though perhaps not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the Long Parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after, with as little ceremony, dissolved the House of Lords. The same pretended power which robs an English subject of his birth-right, may rob an English king of his crown. In another view, the resolution of the House of Commons, apparently not so dangerous to your majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the House, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and who nevertheless returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the sense of the people ; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the representative body ; and by these acts, taken separately or together, they have essentially altered the original constitution of the House of Commons. Versed, as your majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is your interest, as well as your duty, to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great constitutional line by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation ? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior ? Your majesty may learn, hereafter, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.

“ Some of your council, more candid than the rest, admit the abandoned profligacy of the present House of Commons, but oppose their dissolution, upon an opinion, I confess, not

very unwarrantable, that their successors would be equally at the disposal of the treasury. I cannot persuade myself that the nation will have profited so little by experience. But, if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wishes at an easy rate, and appease the present clamors against your government, without offering any material injury to the favorite cause of corruption.

“ You have still an honorable part to act. The affections of your subjects may yet be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little, personal resentments, which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment ; and, if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act, not of mercy, but of contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station.... a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a newspaper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place.

“ Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public, that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a king, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgement will be no disgrace, but rather an honor, to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government ; that you will give your confidence to no man who does not possess the confidence of your subjects ; and leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be, in reality, the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present House of Com-

mons, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

“ These sentiments, Sir, and the style they are conveyed in, may be offensive, perhaps, because they are new to you. Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections by the vehemence of their expressions; and when they praise you indirectly, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends whose affections are founded upon a principle of personal attachment. The first foundation of friendship is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The fortune which made you a king, forbade you to have a friend. It is a law of nature, which cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken prince, who looks for friendship, will find a favorite, and in that favorite the ruin of his affairs.

“ The people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is the principle of allegiance equally solid and rational;...fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty’s encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions. The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible;....armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable. The prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another.

“ JUNIUS.”

This address appears to us, at this distance of time and space, remarkably dignified, benevolent, respectful, and pregnant with wisdom. Had it been communicated privately, a prudent king, situated and circumstanced like George the Third, would have sought the wise man out and listened to his advice; like *Pharaoh*, who finding *Joseph* more wise and holy than any around him, hastened to place him at the head of his affairs.

Whatever had been said of inflexibility of character in the King, the public saw little or nothing of it after the provisional articles of peace with America were signed. He said to his parliament in December 1782—"That he had lost no time in giving the necessary orders for prohibiting offensive operations against America, and had been directing his views to a cordial reconciliation with the Americans. Such being his own inclination, and such the sense of his parliament and people, he had not hesitated to conclude with them provisional articles of peace, by which they were acknowledged free and independent states. He deplored this dismemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence; but testified a hope that religion, language, interest, and affection, would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries."

Lord Shelburne, who made the peace, declared that he had exerted every effort to preserve America to Britain; that he had not voluntarily yielded up this independency, but merely submitted to the controlling power of NECESSITY and fate; and added—"It was not I that made this cession. It was the evil star of Britain. It was the blunders of a former administration. It was the power of revolted subjects, and the *mighty arms* of the house of Bourbon." In this, Earl Shelburne felt like Chatham. After the peace with America, George the Third found himself surrounded by *Whigs*, with the son of Lord Chatham for prime minister, and the PRINCIPLES of JUNIUS triumphant!

One parting glance at America ! General Washington made his public entry into the city of New York in 1782, amid the acclamations of his grateful countrymen. He then repaired to Congress, and on a day appointed for that ceremony, he, addressing the President, “asked leave to surrender into their hands the trust committed to him, and, having finished the work assigned him, to retire from the great theatre of action to the tranquil scenes of private life ; earnestly recommending to the protection of ALMIGHTY GOD the interests of his dear country, and those who had the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.”

The President replied—“*The UNITED STATES in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance the solemn resignation of the authority under which you have led our troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.—You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes ;—you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire with the blessings of your country ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages.*

“*May the ALMIGHTY foster a life so beloved, with his peculiar care, and may your future days be as happy as your past have been illustrious.*” *

* Mr. Belsham, who is freer from mistakes respecting American matters than any other British historian, Gordon excepted, speaking of the sad fate of Major Andre, a young British officer *every way* unfit for a *spy*, says—that the high character of the American commander would have derived additional lustre from indulging the earnest and

In June, *seventeen hundred and eighty-five*, JOHN ADAMS, the first minister plenipotentiary from the UNITED STATES to the court of LONDON, had his introductory audience with KING GEORGE *the Third*. An event so extraordinary with circumstances so novel to us in America, led Mr. Adams to narrate the particulars, in a letter to an intimate friend; which was kept private till after the death of that good man. It was thus;

“At one o'clock on Wednesday, 1st of June, the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the Secretary of State's office in Cleaveland-row, where the *Marquis of Carmarthen* received me, and introduced me to Mr. Frazier, his under Secretary, who had been, as his Lordship said, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration for thirty years, having first been appointed by the Earl of Holderness.

“After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland, which Mr. Frazier himself introduc-

sole request of Major Andre to die as a soldier, not as a felon. The fact was (I had it from several officers of rank and high character), Washington would not venture to risk the indulgence, and merged his personal feelings in necessity. The British had hung three or four American officers as spies with no regard to their feelings as gentlemen. When it was whispered in camp that Andre would be *shot*, there was a general expression of discontent, progressing to clamor. The officers said—‘What!—shall we risk our lives, as several of us have done, and some be taken and hanged like dogs, and shall a detected British *spy* meet a milder fate?’ Alarming resignations would have been the consequence.

That celebrated fault-finder Horace Walpole relates an anecdote of Washington when a young officer, at the time of Braddock's defeat in 1754; whom he states to have said that *the whistling of balls was grateful music to his ears*; and applies to him the epithet of *braggart*. Such an idle story was told in this country, which induced the Rev. Dr. Gordon the historian, to ask the truth of it from the General himself, who replied—“*I do not recollect having ever said any thing like it; but if I did, I must have been very young indeed.*” I had this from Gordon himself.

ed, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the ante-chambers, the master of ceremonies introduced me, and attended me while the Secretary of State went to take the commands of the king. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room was very full of ministers of state, bishops, and all other sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the king's bed-chamber. You may well suppose I was the focus of all eyes. I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it, by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me and entertained me with a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen whom I had seen before, came to make their compliments too, until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned, and desired me to go with him to his Majesty. I went with his lordship through the levee-room into the king's closet. The door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the Secretary of State alone. I made the three reverences; one at the door, another about half way, and the third before the presence—according to the usage established at this, and all the northern courts of Europe;—and then I addressed myself to his Majesty in the following words;

“Sire—The UNITED STATES have appointed me *Minister Plenipotentiary* to your Majesty; and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your fami'y.

“The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the

first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character ; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection : or, in better words, " the old good nature and the good old humor " between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been instructed by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself.'

" The KING listened to every word I said, with dignity it is true, but with apparent emotion. Whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I could express, that touched him, I cannot say ; but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with—and said,—

" ' Sir—*The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, Sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation ; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said as I now say, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say—Let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect.'*"

" I dare not say that these were the king's precise words : and it is even possible that I may have, in some particulars,

mistaken his meaning ; for although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated sometimes between members of the same period. He was, indeed, much affected, and I was not less so, and therefore I cannot be certain that I was so attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words, or sense ; and think that all which he said to me should, at present, be kept secret in America, except his Majesty, or his Secretary of State should judge proper to report it.—This I do say, that the foregoing is his Majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words, as nearly as I can recollect them.

“ The king then asked me whether I came last from France ; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and smiling, or rather laughing, said, ‘ There is an opinion among some people that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France.’ I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on the one hand, nor lead him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other.—I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gayety, and a tone of decision, as far as was decent, and said, ‘ That opinion, Sir, is not mistaken. I must avow to your Majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country.’ The king replied as quick as lightning, ‘ *An honest man will never have any other.*’

“ The king then said a word or two to the Secretary of State, which being between them, I did not hear ; and then turned round, and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes, when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backwards, as is the etiquette ; and making my last reverence at the door of the chamber, I went away. The master of the ceremonies joined me the moment of my coming out of the king's closet, and accompanied me through all the apartments down to my carriage.”

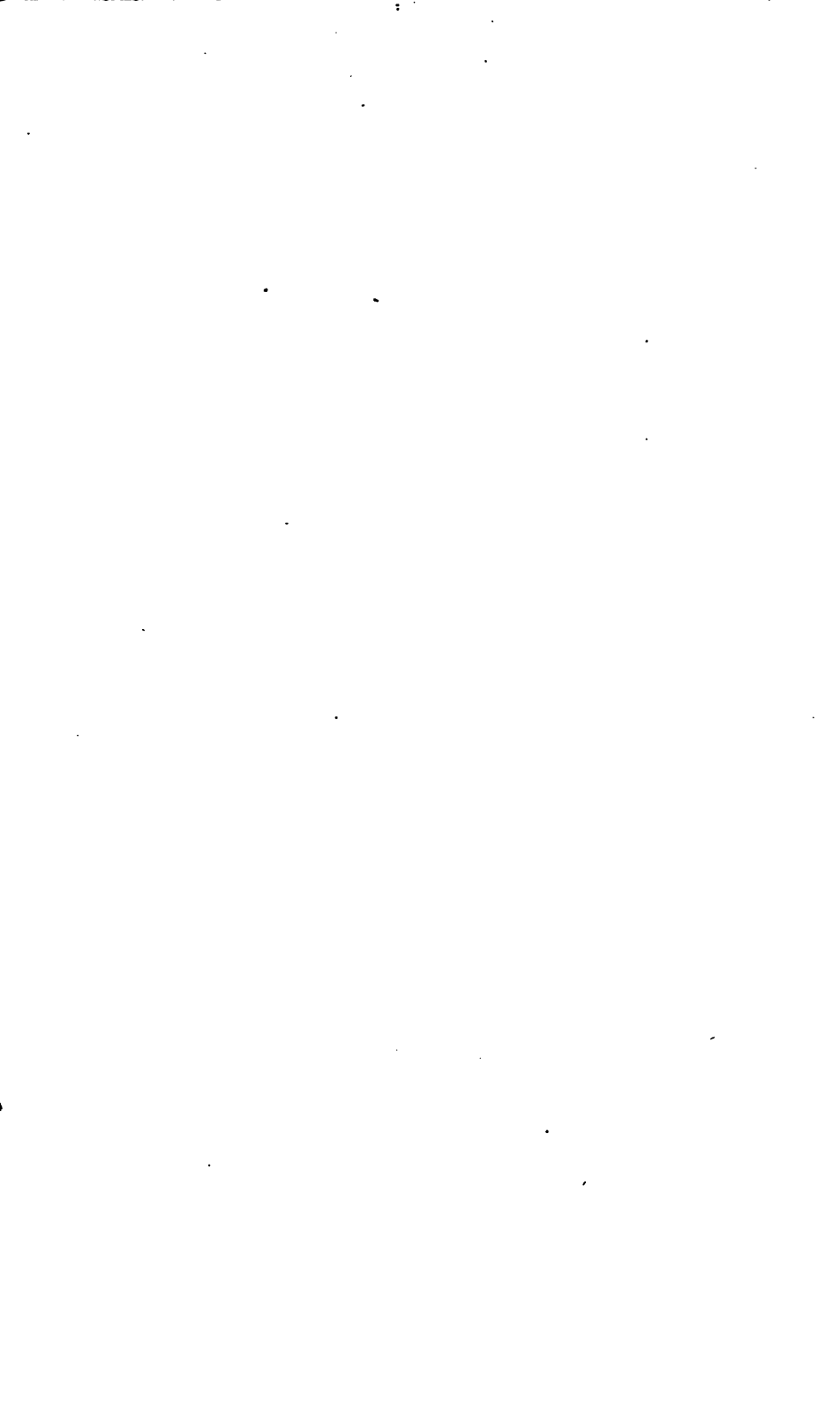
And thus ended the great question between Great Britain and the North American Colonies after an eight years' war, to the entire satisfaction of the people of these UNITED STATES.

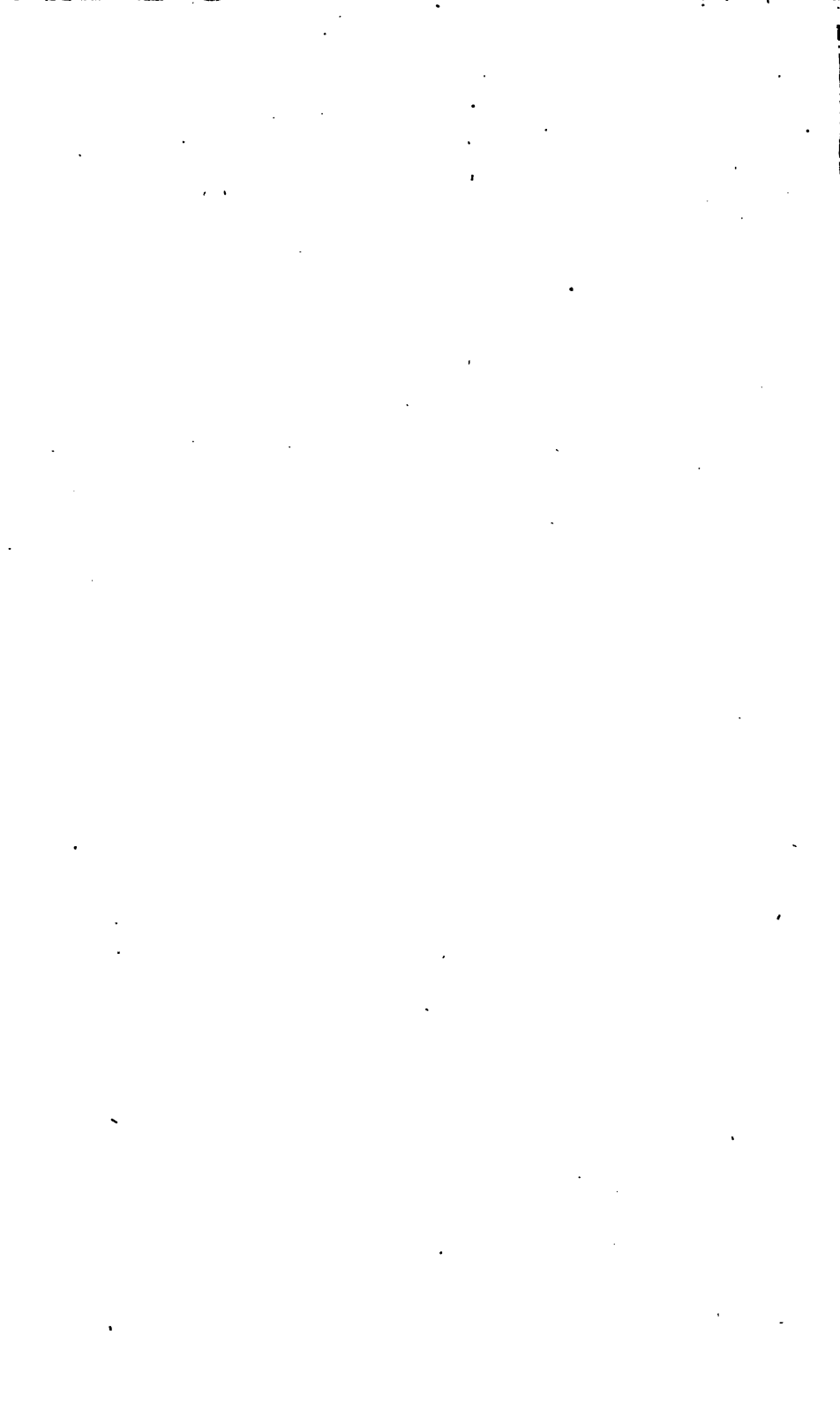
In one point of view it cannot be called a *revolution*, seeing our state governments have proceeded with little variation, as before, through all their legislative, judiciary, and executive forms from the governor to the constable, while the general, national, or federative government approaches in several points to that of a very limited monarchy, the PRESIDENT being to all intents and purposes a KING for the circumscribed period of four years.

In another view, our separation from Britain was a *great* revolution. It changed our sentiments for more correct opinions of British bravery, British humanity, and of the knowledge possessed by Kings, privy-counsellors, lords and commons. On the other hand, the struggle led to new and more correct opinions of France and Frenchmen, and gave us a new, powerful, and efficient friend in a nation we had heretofore been taught to believe our natural enemy, dangerous, at once, to our temporal and spiritual interest. It gave us a better opinion of OURSELVES. And while we acquired a confidence in our own strength, we felt a pride of country from the success of our arguments and arms, and the character of the man who enabled his fellow-citizens to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. May we feel a pride still more noble, an intellectual pride, in the CONSTITUTION of our *confederated government*, which we believe to be one of the noblest works of man, and the glory of the human understanding !

THE END.







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